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Quotations from Chairman Mao

We must never forget classes and class struggle.

Throughout the period of transition there are class contradictions, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between the two roads, the socialist and capitalist. If we forget this basic theory and practice of our Party over the past decade and more, we will go astray.

The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Universities must still be run, and here I refer mainly to universities of science and engineering. But the period of schooling must be shortened, a revolution must be carried out in education, and proletarian politics must be placed in command. We must take the road of Shanghai Machine Tool Plant in training technicians from among workers. We must select students from among workers and peasants with practical practice, and they should return to production after several years of study.

Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor.

Our educational policy should be to enable one who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a cultured laborer with socialist consciousness.

Throughout history, new and correct things have often failed at the outset to win recognition from the majority of people and have had to develop by twists and turns in struggle.

What is correct invariably develops in the course of struggle with what is wrong. The true, the good and the beautiful always exist by contrast with the false, the evil and the ugly, and grow in struggle with the latter.

* * *

The Orientation of Educational Revolution Must Not Be Tampered with

by

Mass Criticism Groups of Peking and Tsinghua Universities

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

Today, with the people throughout the country conscientiously studying and implementing Chairman Mao's series of important directives on the question of theory, all kinds of work have been pushed forward further. The situation on the educational front, like that on other fronts in the country, is excellent. From Shanghai's "July 21" Workers' University to Liaoning's Chaoyang Agricultural College and from Kiangsi's Communist Labor University to the Tachai school, the flowers of educational revolution are blooming north and south of the Yangtze River and in and out of the Great Wall. After various experiments, a brand new educational system of the proletariat has been gradually established and consolidated. Since the entry of worker-PLA propaganda teams into schools on July 27, 1968, the proletarian educational revolution, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, has been vigorously developing in Tsinghua and Peking Universities. Worker-peasant-soldier students have been growing up fast and a profound change has taken place among the intellectuals.

Under this excellent situation, we must be aware that the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in the educational sphere are still acute and complicated. Recently there has been a strange theory within the educational circles saying that since the great proletarian cultural revolution, everything concerning the educational revolution is a flop, that the orientation of the educational revolution "has never been properly resolved," and that therefore, "a change of course is necessary." This is to say that the educational revolution has gone too far and become a terrible mess, and that the orientation of the educatonal revolution should be "reversed." The question is very clear. The focal point of the current controversy is this: To adhere to the orientation of the educational revolution and carry the proletarian educational revolution through to the end, or reverse the verdict passed on the revisionist educational line and restore the old educational system used by bourgeois intellectuals to dominate our schools? We must grasp the essence of this issue, criticize the erroneous thinking that negates the educational revolution, distinguish the major question of right and wrong in line, continue to consolidate and develop the achievements of the educational revolution, and strengther the overall dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure.

I.

To uphold the orientation of making revolution in education, we must "select our students from among the workers and peasants with practical experience." Although Chairman Mao's "July 21" directive clearly stated in the first place how a university of science and engineering should be run, those who put forward the strange theory in educational circles deliberately play an opposite tune on this issue. They stress that for the department of

science "recruits should be selected from among good students in middle schools; they must be sent directly to universities." Isn't this a departure from the orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao?

The questions of for whom the door of a school should be opened and what kind of students it should have have a direct bearing on the class character of education. The laboring people are the creators of both material and spiritual wealth, but in the past centuries-old class society they were deprived of the right to education. With the liberation, the worker-peasant masses became the masters of our country of proletarian dictatorship. But, during the 17 years before the great proletarian cultural revolution, dominated by the revisionist educational line, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers were barred from universities. The great proletarian cultural revolution changed this situation. Following Chairman Mao's "July 21" directive, universities began to reform the system of enrollment and realized the centuries-old wishes of the workers and peasants in their millions. The laboring people moved into Tsinghua University, Peking University and other schools of higher learning and brought up the first generation of their own university students. Selecting university students from among workers, peasants and soldiers has been an important accomplishment of the great proletarian cultural revolution; it is a revolution in the history of education. No one can change this basic orientation.

Selecting university students from among workers, peasants and soldiers--this new thing has shown its marked superiority and strong vitality after several years of practice. It has brought forth a complete change in the features of universities. The workers-peasant-soldier students, after taking part in productive labor in factories or rural areas for several years, have definite practical experience, which is very helpful for their study in universities. Through learning from society, workers and peasants, they have heightened their consciousness, enriched their knowledge and gradually become aware of the correct orientation. This has laid a relatively good ideological foundation for further solving the question of for whom they study. At the same time, because they have practical experience in the three great revolutionary movements, their comprehensive and practical ability is relatively strong no matter what they study--liberal arts or science and engineering. They have become a new force in the educational revolution now that they have gone to universities, taken part in their management and transformed them with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This is something which is entirely beyond students of the past who left their homes for schools and advanced to universities through primary and middle schools. We deeply feel that only by insisting on recruiting students from among workers, peasants and soldiers is it possible to insure the fulfillment of the class line in bringing up successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

To restore the system of recruiting students from among middle school students to "go directly to universities" as practiced prior to the great cultural revolution is, in effect, to deny the universal significance of Chairman Mao's "July 21" directive on the educational revolution. If this were allowed to go on, Chairman Mao's series of directives on the educational revolution would be tampered with and rejected step by step,

and the policy of sending educated youths to the mountains and rural areas to take the road of integrating with workers and peasants would be attacked and negated. Consequently, we would "change direction" and go back to the revisionist educational line, practice the "elite" bourgeois education, and induce students to scale that "small treasure tower," that is, the ladder leading to bourgeois intellectual aristocracy. At the same time, workers, peasants and soldiers would be thrown out of schools of higher learning once again. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, Tsinghua and Peking universities were dominated by the revisionist line, and students of worker-peasant origin were vilified as "crude pottery on which no fine designs could be carved," and were simply "flushed out." This history of the bourgeoisie exercising dictatorship over the proletariat must never be allowed to repeat itself. If some people want to repeat this history beginning with the departments of science and engineering, then, we shall have the right to ask: Don't you also want to "flush out" workers, peasants and soldiers from the universities?

II.

To uphold the orientation of making revolution in education, we must train successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause who are both red and expert in the course of the three great revolutionary movements.

The struggle between the two educational lines, in a nutshell, concerns the question of for which class successors are to be trained. Worker-peasant-soldier students come from workers, peasants and soldiers, and do they still have to integrate with the workers and peasants during their study? They have definite practical experience, and now study theory, technology and culture, and do they still have to integrate with the three great revolutionary movements? Do those who have a relatively high level of ideological and political consciousness still have to remold their thinking? These are important questions of principle concerning the orientation along which worker-peasant-soldier students should improve and develop themselves. The basic way to bring up successors to the proletariat can only be to resolutely adhere to Chairman Mao's "May 7 directive" road, run the school with an open door and closely integrate education with the three great revolutionary movements. But the strange talk prevailing in the educational circles which distorts running the school with an open door as "something which ignores cultural study" and as "practice--practice--practice" is entirely a vilification of the "May 7 directive" road.

Where do correct ideas come from? Chairman Mao has taught us: "Men's correct ideas can only come from social practice, from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, class struggle and scientific experiment.' It is most important for a socialist university, as a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to train its students into staunch fighters for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and for combating and preventing revisionism. A school has many kinds of work to do, but all of it is geared to transforming the students' thinking. Students must study in many fields, and first and foremost they must seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They have to study many subjects, and first and foremost they must seriously study well class struggle, a main subject. None of this can be divorced from the three great revolutionary

movements. How can one be considered as graduating from a university without knowing the workers and peasants and class struggle?

A socialist university should continue to improve the educational quality of the proletariat and guide its students to use proletarian politics to command vocational work, to study cultural and scientific knowledge diligently for the revolution, to "achieve perfection of techniques" and to master true skills to serve the people. On this question, just as Lenin pointed out, "the general key" lies in "a radical transformation of the undertaking of study, organization and training of the youth." To persistently take the "May 7 directive" road and run a school with an open door is precisely to achieve this "radical transformation." Only by taking an active part in the three great revolutionary movements, integrating with workers and peasants and setting a correct goal of studying for the revolution can students generate powerful motivation for study and display unflagging stamina in conquering one scientific and cultural fortress after another. Only by pursuing the revolution in education, criticizing the feudal, capitalist and revisionist systems of study, thoroughly reforming the old curricula and teaching methods, and organizing teaching in accordance with the Marxist line of knowledge with emphasis on "practice--knowledge--practice," can we enable students to acquire not only useful book knowledge but also rich practical knowledge, "to concentrate their energy on developing their ability to analyze and solve problems." If we depart from the practice of the three great revolutionary movements, can we still speak of following a "correct road" in bringing up successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution?

Over the past several years, Tsinghua and Peking Universities have mobilized vast numbers of teachers and students to deeply criticize the revisionist line of education and have persisted in the principle that "education must serve proletarian politics and must be integrated with productive labor." In the course of putting the open-to-society method of education into practice, they have endeavored to integrate teachers and students with workers and peasants, education with productive labor, and theory with practice. With society as a workshop, the department of liberal arts of Peking University has organized teaching in close conjunction with the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the recent criticism of Water Margin, thus promoting reform of various subjects including philosophy, economics, literature and history. Take the subject of "history" for example. The idealist conception of history that "heroes create history" was advertised in the past; now, the role of the laboring people in history is being elaborated. In the past, Confucianism was honored and the Legalist school was opposed; now, correct appraisals of the Legalist school and profound criticism of the Confucian school are being made. In the past, more stress was laid on the ancient than on the present; now, the principle of making the ancient serve the present is implemented, and historical experience is summed up to serve current struggle. Tsinghua University has destroyed the old system of "three long stages"--the basic course, the basic technical course and the specialized course--and conducts teaching by taking typical tasks into consideration, thus linking the students' studies with the seething socialist revolution and construction. Nearly a thousand production and scientific research projects have been completed in recent years. Taking the 10,000-li Yellow River as a classroom, the Department of Water Conservancy

has persisted in serving the scheme to harness the Yellow River as well as agriculture. 12 students and 3 teachers of the specialty of river silt control went to a certain place in Shantung to carry out study in conjunction with the scientific research project of "diverting the Yellow River to get rid of the silt." Under the leadership of the local Party committee, they learned from poor and lower-middle peasants, and not limited by book knowledge, they designed a plan to move silt. Thanks to the hard work of the broad masses and the support of departments concerned, this project has yielded 51,700 mow of fertile farmland so far this year. Besides making a contribution to learning from Tachai in agriculture, they have also gained rich practical knowledge and created something new in theory. After completing a chemical engineering design to fill a technological blank in our country, teachers and students of the 2nd year class of the department of chemical engineering jointly put out two volumes of teaching material and two papers on the "design of chemical engineering workshops." They summed up the workers' practical experience and provided theoretical interpretations to six pioneering innovations in design. It is clear, therefore, that the course of running schools with an open door and carrying teaching in conjunction with typical tasks is one of consistently implementing the principle "practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge," enabling students to lay the emphasis on theoretical study on the basis of practice. To distort running schools with an open door as "practice-practice-practice" is nothing but a groundless allegation that ignores objective facts.

When students and teachers go out of the school and to society, there is still the question of adjusting to a correct ideological line. Our two universities have paid much attention to guiding teachers and students to fight side by side with workers, peasants and soldiers in the three great revolutionary movements, to think as workers, peasants and soldiers think, to cope with the needs of building socialism, to learn humbly from the thoughts and feelings of workers, peasants and soldiers and study their rich practical experience, to wholeheartedly rely on the working class in running education, and, in accordance with the needs of socialist revolution and socialist construction, to make active efforts to reform the old teaching system. If we do not integrate ourselves with workers and peasants when we go to factories and the countryside, if we do not make serious efforts to take part in class struggle and productive labor in order to steel ourselves mentally but carry on with old curricula and teaching methods, and if we do not strive to organize teaching by integrating theory with practice, we will not be able to put the open-to-society method of education into genuine practice. Our two universities have from first to last placed political and ideological work above all else and persisted in the principle of "integrating theory with practice," endeavoring to enable students to develop morally, intellectually and physically.

Practice proves that implementing the open-to-society method of education will enable us to train and bring up students in the three great revolutionary movements, giving them both political and vocational training. It also enables us to raise their consciousness in the course of struggle so that they can both understand the vital importance of adhering to the Party's line and policies and painstakingly study vocational work under the command of proletarian politics. They will be good at studying advanced science and technology at home and abroad, dare to try out new things instead of following books blindly, and be fighters both Red and expert. To slander the open-to-society method of education as "neglecting the study of culture" is, in effect, to

follow the old bourgeois road of running school behind closed doors and to bring up students as successors to the bourgeoisie.

III.

In attacking the proletarian revolution in education, the bourgeoisie has always made a fuss over the quality of education. Persisting in the orientation of making revolution in education, it is necessary to look at the quality of education correctly and criticize "intellectual education first."

With regard to the quality of education, different classes hold diametrically different views. We believe that students trained by socialist universities must work for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. For this reason, when we speak of quality, we must first of all emphasize orientation and line. We must take into consideration all-round moral, intellectual and physical training. Even in vocational study, we also cannot use as a standard how many courses one has taken or how many books one has read but must take into consideration integration of theory with practice and one's ability to analyze and solve problems.

The old Peking and Tsinghua universities were once described as the "highest institutions of education" and "cradles of Red engineers." However, the cradles, swung back and forth, only caused many students to feel dizzy, pursue personal fame and gain, and separate theory from practice. Those who studied philosophy were incompetent in that field; those who majored in literature could not write novels; those who studied engineering did not know how to operate or repair machines; those who studied physics could only indulge in empty talk in an ivory tower. Some, showing fear of hardship or death, did not take jobs assigned by the Party and the state, while others even degenerated into bourgeois rightists. But now, after several years of study, worker-peasant-soldier students have greatly raised their Marxist theoretical level and consciousness of class and line struggles, while making encouraging achievements in academic studies. Some have distinguished themselves with inventions and creations and made contributions to socialist revolution and socialist construction while studying in the universities. A student group of the welding specialty of the Department of Machine-Building in Tsinghua University, working together with workers and technicians of Peking Building and Installation Company, successfully carried out 100-degree low-temperature steel welding after smashing the foreign welding technological norms. Five students and two teachers of the control specialty of the Department of Electronics, working together with several workers of the Department of Precision Intruments, did away with superstition, emanicipated their thinking and successfully built a graph generator, a key component of an auxiliary device on a large integrated circuit computer, which attained the world's advanced standard. Students of the Chinese Department of Peking University, plunging themselves into the roaring three great revolutionary movements, wrote "The Song of Ideal," a long poem filled with revolutionary passion. After its publication, it was hailed by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Students of the Departments of Geophysics, Geology and Geography, upon learning of the earthquakes in the Chaot'ung area of Yunnan and the Yingk'ou area of Liaoning, immediately rushed to the stricken areas. As the tremors continued and rocks on the

mountains were still rolling down, they risked their lives to rescue their class brothers and the people's property and conducted scientific study on the spot, thereby obtaining valuable data.

The fruitful results achieved by worker-peasant-soldier students in their graduation practice powerfully refute the fallacy of "low quality." In two years, graduating students in Tsinghua University completed 564 special research projects, production assignments and major technical innovations, over one-third of which attained the nation's advanced level or filled the blanks in the country. The 12 projects handled by the 1972 graduating students of the department of electronics all reached the nation's advanced standard, with 9 filling the blanks in the country. Graduating students of liberal arts in Peking University, in conjunction with their militant tasks, compiled and wrote 55 books and contributed over 700 articles to papers and journals. Students of the department of foreign languages translated 2.5 million words of material in 16 languages, thus contributing their share to combating imperialism and revisionism. Students of the department of science completed 393 scientific research projects, of which 79 reached the nation's advanced standard. There are other projects which are immensely invaluable to the study of basic theory. Two different lines produce two different results. This is a fact no one can deny. It may be asked: Is the quality of current university education "inferior to that of past post-secondary education"? Or, is it not true that it cannot be matched by the old university education?

When the results are so obvious and the contrast so sharp, why is it that some still confuse right with wrong on the quality of education? One of the important reasons is the pernicious influence of bourgeois educational thinking which gives "first place to intellectual education." Chairman Mao has said: "Our educational policy should enable one who receive an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a cultured laborer with socialist consciousness." But some people distort this by eclectic tactics. In fact, they want to retain only the middle while discarding both ends, casting to the winds "socialist consciousness" and "labor." Their eyes are fixed only on "culture." We must be alert against the deliberate attempt of some people to blur the demarcation between paying serious attention to intellectual education and "intellectual education first," to bring out again this old stuff by taking advantage of the people's earnest desire to push science and culture forward. When they say "the idea of 'intellectual education first' should not be criticized indiscriminately," in plain truth, it means that they oppose criticism of "intellectual education first," which has all along meant giving first place to bourgeois politics. Can it be that there is something worth affirming? Chairman Mao sharply criticized the old education 17 years ago prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution. He pointed out incisively: "The old teaching system is detrimental to talent and to young people. I strongly disapprove of it." To give "first place to intellectual education" means to continue to let old teaching undermine talent and our young people once again, to serve the restoration of capitalism. People know that the chieftains of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are mostly so-called "Red experts" trained by universities. It is they who have turned the first socialist

country into a social-imperialist country. While we are striving to build socialism, we must not forget this historical lesson: "the satellite goes up to the sky, the red flag falls to the ground."

IV.

In adhering to the orientation of revolution in education, it is essential to have working-class leadership. Under the Party's unified leadership, workers propaganda teams must stay in the schools on a long-term basis, take part in the task of struggle-criticism-transformation there and lead the schools now and forever.

Why was the feudal, bourgeois and revisionist influence so deeply rooted in Tsinghua and Peking universities before the great proletarian cultural revolution--so deep it could not be removed no matter how many attacks were launched against it? Why were there no struggle, criticism and transformation before the entry of workers and PLA propaganda teams? And why have such earth-shaking changes occurred over the last several years? The basic reason is that, through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the Liu Shao-ch'i bourgeois headquarters on the educational front was destroyed, the attempt by Lin Piao and company to obstract and prevent the entry of propaganda teams into schools was foiled, and working-class leadership has been firmly established in schools. This is a basic gaurantee for thoroughly implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and realizing the proletarian revolution in education.

Whenever the bourgeoisie attempts to reverse verdicts and stage a comeback, it invariably jumps out to frantically oppose the leadership of the working class. What they call "it is necessary to have laymen dedicated to science exercise leadership" is, in essence, aimed at tampering with Chairman Mao's instruction that "the working class must exercise leadership in everything" by deleting its class content. Why, then, are they so shy that they do not dare to say openly such trash "laymen cannot lead professionals"? The reason is that such trash is too notorious to be even presented. So, they pick up the slogan "laymen can lead professionals" and add to it the restrictive phrase "dedicated to science." By doing so, they attempt to get rid of the working class leadership on the trumped-up charge that it is "not dedicated to science," so that those who are "dedicated" to bourgeois politics can dominate the educational field. This is the basic method sought by them to "solve" the problem of education.

But this method is not strange to us at all. In 1957, the Rightists raved that "laymen cannot lead professionals." By no means did they want to develop science; what they wanted was for the Communist Party to withdraw from schools, and "professors run the schools," that is, domination by the bourgeoisie. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, our Party sent group after group of cadres to Tsinghua and Peking Universities. While there, they were first slanderously described by the bourgeoisie as "clodhoppers" who knew nothing about science. Later, some of these cadres, who could not stand up to the pressure and corruption of the bourgeoisie,

became less and less interested in class struggle. Forgetting Chairman Mao's teachings and the Party's basic line, they followed the bourgeoisie and became more and more "dedicated" to revisionist things. The result? Not only did they fail to develop science, but they themselves fell into the pit of revisionism and took the capitalist road. This historical lesson is still fresh in our memory. Today, when some people vainly attempt to push the wheel of history back to the road dreamed of by the bourgeois Rightists, have they not really gone too far?

A school is an important ground of class struggle, not simply a center where knowledge is imparted and science developed for its own sake. The positive and negative experiences of Tsinghua and Peking Universities before and after the great cultural revolution testify to the great truth that "in carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working-class leadership." The working class is the most advanced and revolutionary class, and is most resentful of the old educational system serving the exploiting class. The working class also possesses rich experience in the three great revolutonary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. Only by firmly controlling the educational position under the Party's centralized leadership can the working class smash the monopoly of education by bourgeois intellectuals and turn the school into a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only thus can it make teaching, scientific research and all other work develop vigorously along a correct line. Many comrades of workers propaganda teams stationed in schools have this understanding: Class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in the educational field are complicated and acute, and it is necessary to have a firm working class stand, to constantly raise our awareness of the struggle between the two lines, resolutely struggle against revisionism, and guard against being hit by the bourgeois sugar-coated bullets before the glorious task of the revolution in education can be carried on perseveringly.

The radical revolution in education began only a few years ago. It has not gone too far but has just started. We are glad to see that the revolution in education, as a new thing, is growing in strength daily. As soon as it appeared, it demonstrated its boundless vitality, unfolding bright prospects. To be sure, like all other new things of revolution, it must go through a course of development and continuous perfection. Our work also involves a process of learning and acquiring experience. The quality of our education still must be further developed and improved. In looking at a problem, Marxists first look at the essence and the main stream. Nor can they overlook the non-essential and minor aspects; instead they must settle them one by one. However, if a person seizes certain imperfect aspects of new things and takes advantage of the fact that some comrades temporarily do not understand nor adapt to the situation to negate the main stream and orientation of the educational revolution, the broad revolutionary masses definitely will not allow him to do so.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, started on the cultural and educational front. Chairman Mao personally dispatched worker and PLA propaganda teams to Tsinghua and Peking Universities and personally took

charge of the educational revolution. The victory of the educational revolution is a vital component of the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. At present, those who spread the strange theory in educational circles attempt to reverse the verdict passed on the revisionist educational line and then negate the great cultural revolution and change Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Revisionism is still the main danger at present. The debate on the educational front is part of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in society. When the question of the correct versus the erroneous line is clarified, we will truly be able to promote stability and unity. The revolution in education is an intensive social revolution and an important task in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It requires unremitting efforts of several generations. University, middle and primary school students account for about one-fifth of the nation's population. Training these young people with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought into successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause is a long-term task of fundamental importance in preserving the color of our Party and state. We must earnestly study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the thoughts of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao on educational revolution. We must criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie and, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, unite all forces that can be united, bring all positive factors into play, and carry the proletarian educational revolution through to the end with class struggle as the key link!

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Revolution Is the Locomotive of History

by

Ch'i Yung-hung (齐永红)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao is a great practice of combating and preventing revisionism under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The victory of historical significance won by this great revolution has again testified to the shining truth that "revolution is the locomotive of history."

In regard to the necessity and importance of this great revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." The achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution have been consolidated and developed through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and that to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship. The vast numbers of cadres and masses have further realized in both theory and practice that Chairman Mao's scientific thesis is very correct and extremely profound.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is by no means a fortuitous happening. It is the natural outcome of the protracted and acute struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines during the period of socialism. On the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and by observing socialist society with the law of unity of opposites, Chairman Mao sums up in a penetrating way the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement, and for the first time clearly proposes that classes, class contradictions and class struggle still remain and the proletariat must still continue the revolution following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. Under his leadership, the Chinese proletariat has carried out many trials of strength against the bourgeoisie, and so have the Marxists against the revisionists within the Party, and won one victory after another. However, the struggle has not stopped. In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and push socialist construction forward triumphantly, Chairman Mao summed up the revolutionary practical experience of the broad masses and found the form of the great proletarian cultural revolution, through which hundreds of millions of people were mobilized to air views freely, put up big-character posters and hold big debates, and the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i was destroyed together with their plot to restore capitalism. Then, under Chairman Mao's leadership, our Party again waged a struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and won a complete victory. The victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution provided important practical experience for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism, and enriched the theoretical treasure-house of Marxism. Its far-reaching historical significance will be shown more fully with the continuous deepening of the socialist revolution and the successful development of socialist construction.

Chairman Mao points out: The great proletarian cultural revolution is in essence "a great political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes." The profound changes brought by this great political revolution have created conditions under which socialist new things can thrive. Under the impact of the great proletarian cultural revolution, large numbers of socialist new things have emerged on all fronts and in all spheres of the superstructure, including the study of Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works by the people of all nationalities in a widespread and sustained way, the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, the revolutionary committees, revolution in literature and art, revolution in education, the mass movements to learn from Tachai in agriculture and from Tach'ing in industry, educated young people going to the mountains and countryside, "May 7" cadre schools, barefoot doctors, cooperative medical service, mass Marxist theoretical contingents and so forth. These new things are blooming all over the good earth of the motherland like resplendent flowers, showing strong vitality and broad prospects. It is precisely due to this great revolution that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies have gone even deeper into people's hearts. Creating a lively political situation, it has given full play to the enthusiasm for building socialism among the broad masses, liberated the productive forces a step further, propelled industrial and agricultural development and brought about rapid development of science and technology. China's socialist economy has become still stronger. With Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as their weapon, millions upon millions of Chinese people have pushed forward the cause of socialist revolution and construction in unprecedented depth and breadth.

The victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution have not come easily. Likewise, we have to undergo a fierce struggle to consolidate and develop these victorious achievements. Historically, every great revolution has been invariably followed by a struggle over whether to affirm or negate this revolution. This is a struggle over whether to continue the revolution or to restore the old order, and it will last much longer than the revolutionary movement itself. So it is the case with the great proletarian cultural revolution. Knowledge comes from practice. Only when we take an active part in the current revolutionary practice of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat can we deeply understand the revolution. Only when we truly understand the significance of the revolution can we persistently continue it. Therefore, in order to keep abreast with the struggle to consolidate and develop the victories of the great cultural revolution, we must continue to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and enhance our understanding of the necessity of the great cultural revolution.

The understanding of the masses in regard to the great cultural revolution has been continuously deepened during their participation in the movement. In the course of its development, the two classes and the two lines have been repeatedly engaged in a trial of political strength. In the meantime, non-proletarian trends of thoughts of various shapes and colors emerged, making this great struggle extremely complicated. However, the more acute and complex the struggle becomes, the more it helps enhance people's understanding of it. Many comrades who failed to fully understand the significance of the great cultural revolution at the outset also continuously deepened their understanding during the revolutionary struggle against the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. This process of understanding has not yet come to an end.

Lenin once pointed out: "After a profound political change, it usually takes a very long time for the people to understand it." ("The New Economic Policy and the Tasks of the Political Education Bureau") As the political change caused by the great cultural revolution is extremely profound, both its own course and the reaction it causes will surely continue for a very long time, and its significance will also fully reveal itself only after a long time has passed. The high tide of the May 4 Movement that took place in 1919 lasted but a few months. However, as time went by, its profound historical significance increasingly revealed itself. Just as Chairman Mao summed it up in the article "On New Democracy" in 1940, it signified that the Chinese proletariat had rapidly become an awakened and independent political force entering the political arena, a political guide to China's bourgeois democratic revolution, and ideologically and in cadres provided the groundwork for the founding of the CCP in 1921, the May 30 Movement and the Northern Expedition. The great proletarian cultural revolution aroused millions upon millions of people to criticize the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, but the profound changes thus caused in the political, economic, ideological, and cultural fields have been far from being completed. Therefore, people's understanding of its necessity also has been far from being completed.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great movement to destroy the old and build the new. In this movement, the revolutionary masses have created many socialist new things. Being new things, these are naturally imperfect in certain respects. How to look at the socialist new things that have emerged from the great cultural revolution will directly lead to the attitude of either affirming or negating this revolution.

It is inevitable that some new problems should crop up in the course of development of socialist new things, and concrete analyses must be made of these new problems. These socialist new things represent the direction in which things develop, are helpful to restricting bourgeois rights and to effecting all-round proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and embody the essence of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is the main stream. Problems arising in the course of the growth of new things are side issues. Even though their defects may be numerous, socialist new things differ in nature from the old bourgeois and revisionist things. Just as Lu Hsün said in his essay "Warrior and Fly," a warrior may have his defects, but he is still a warrior, and a fly, however beautiful, is still a fly. Not only must we differentiate and analyze the primary and secondary aspects, but we must also make an analysis of the secondary aspect itself. Some of the defects or problems of new things have been caused by the class enemy's sabotage, others by the influence of old conventional ideas or by the failure to make a thorough revolution in this realm, and still others by our inexperience or shortcomings in our day-to-day work. In fact, those who attack new things oppose precisely the essence and main aspect of things, and cite certain phenomena related to the secondary aspect only as a pretext. Therefore, we must never take the secondary aspect as the main aspect, and still less must we be confused by those erroneous allegations negating the main aspect. The correct attitude should be to deal with the new things with ardor, conscientiously sum up experience, promote the achievements and overcome the defects, so that new things will gradually become perfect and grow still more rapidly and better. The present excellent situation provides extremely good conditions for the vigorous growth of new things. All our revolutionary comrades should firmly take the stand of positively supporting

new things, plunge into the hard practice to enable new things to grow and become perfect, and, in the course of this practice, acquire an ever deeper understanding of new things in order to consolidate and develop the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the final analysis, the attitude toward the great proletarian cultural revolution and the new things that have emerged from it is determined by one's world outlook. One who looks at a problem from the proletarian stand will truly recognize, on the plane of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism, that this great revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely. One will wholeheartedly support socialist new things and help them grow in strength. Conversely, if one looks at a problem from the bourgeois stand, one will find objective things distorted or even reversed, and will not fit the great cultural revolution and the profound changes it has brought about in the superstructure and the economic base into his own thinking and sentiments. In such a case, one will be cool and indifferent to as well as doubt the socialist new things, with the result that either intentionally or unintentionally one will magnify certain defects of these new things and even distort the correct things as erroneous ones and negate them completely. Therefore, on the question of how to deal with the great cultural revolution and the various socialist new things, each of us faces a severe test in world outlook. We should cultivate a truly proletarian world outlook lest we go astray in the acute and complex class struggle. The vast numbers of old and new cadres, particularly those comrades who had been criticized during the mass movement of the great cultural revolution and who have now been assigned to jobs again, must pay attention to observing problems with a proletarian world outlook so that they will take a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution, the masses and themselves. Of course, we must also see that there are people who are hostile to the great cultural revolution and attempt to negate its great achievements with an ulterior motive. However, they are only a small minority, and we must sternly criticize their fallacies.

Our present duty is to make further efforts to consolidate and develop the fruits of the great cultural revolution, to support, develop and perfect socialist new things. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The great cultural revolution was launched and won great victories under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In consolidating and developing the fruits of the great cultural revolution, we must likewise rely on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. While we are consolidating and developing these achievements and working hard to develop and perfect new things, we must at no time forget the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, nor forget the Party's basic line. Long before, in his "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area," Chairman Mao profoundly elaborated the importance of "all comrades in the Party firmly grasping the Party's general line." He said: "Our Party has laid down the general line and general policy of the Chinese revolution as well as various specific lines for work and specific policies. However, while many comrades remember our Party's specific lines for work and specific policies, they often forget its general line and general policy. If we actually forget the Party's general line and general policy, then we shall be blind, half-baked, muddle-headed revolutionaries, and when we carry out

a specific line for work and a specific policy, we shall lose our bearings and vacillate now to the left and now to the right, and the work will suffer." All specific lines for work and specific policies for the present stage formulated by our Party are subordinate to and serve the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism. In order to consolidate and develop the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution and to unite more than 95 percent of the cadres and masses to march forward, it is essential to continue to implement the Party's various proletarian policies. However, while implementing the various specific lines for work and specific policies, if we do not understand and appreciate them on the plane of the Party's basic line or even forget the Party's basic line, then we may deviate from the correct path and go astray. Class struggle has remained a great motive force in the development of history ever since human society was divided into opposing classes. Classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist during the historical period of socialism. Class struggle is the key link, and when it is grasped, everything falls in place. Only by grasping firmly this key link and by implementing the Party's basic line at all times and in all work can we be guided by the developing situation to win the victory and do our work well in all fields.

Today, China's socialist revolution and socialist construction are in an important period of historical development. Looking back at the fighting course of the great cultural revolution, we are full of confidence about the future. "The best way to celebrate the great revolutionary memorial day is to devote our attention to solving those revolutionary tasks which have not been solved." (Lenin, "On the Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism") We must continue to develop the excellent situation and, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and persist in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a long-term basis so as to clear up our thinking, unite our comrades, promote our work in all fields with class struggle as the key link, and push the wheel of revolution forward.

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Ardently Support Socialist New Things

by

Yü T'ung (俞 彤)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

Whether to support or oppose the socialist new things is a watershed separating genuine Marxists from sham Marxists. All Party members and revolutionaries must take a clear-cut stand in regard to this major question of principle.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, large numbers of socialist new things have emerged amidst the fierce struggle between the two classes and the two lines. For example, the mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the establishment of study classes for workers, peasants, soldiers and cadres have raised the consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the part of the vast numbers of cadres and masses, and increased their ability to combat and prevent revisionism. The implementation of the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young has created favorable conditions for strengthening the leadership of the Party, building stronger leading groups at all levels, and training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. The participation of vast numbers of cadres in collective productive labor and their determination to take the May 7 road have given an impetus to the reform of state organs. The birth and popularization of model revolutionary theatrical plays, which portray the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers, have succeeded in driving emperors, princes, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, and ghosts and monsters from the stage. As a result of the stationing of worker and poor and lower-middle peasant propaganda teams in schools and the enrolling of workers, peasants and soldiers in universities, the educational front of our country is now undergoing a profound change. The growth of worker-peasant-soldier theoretical contingents has given an impetus to the unceasing development of socialist revolution in the superstructure. Millions upon millions of educated youth have gone to the mountains and countryside to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants; a new socialist generation is growing sturdily in that vast world. The extensive establishment of the cooperative medical service, the emergence of vast numbers of barefoot doctors and the arrival of urban medical personnel in the mountains and rural areas have changed the situation marked by lack of doctors and insufficient medical supplies and improved the health of the people. And so on and so forth. The birth of these socialist new things represents a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a tremendous achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and a vivid manifestation of the inexhaustible creative power of the masses of people. They have succeeded in restricting bourgeois rights and consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in various ways.

Since socialist new things are born in the stormy class struggle, it is impossible to develop them in a peaceful environment. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts." This instruction of Chairman Mao's generalizes the universal law governing the growth of new things. The socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat has opened up a broad avenue for the development of new things, but there is still the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and the danger of capitalist restoration throughout the historical period of socialism. Therefore, the growth and development of socialist new things will definitely undergo arduous and devious struggle. Although the socialist new things which emerged in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have played a tremendous role in socialist revolution and construction and have been recognized and supported by increasing numbers of people, the struggle over whether to support or oppose them still exists.

Some people always dislike socialist new things, feeling that "the new is no better than the old." Which are really better: the socialist new things or the capitalist old things? This is a question of principle that must be clearly answered. The socialist new things are great creations full of vitality achieved by millions upon millions of people in their struggle to clear the old base of capitalism, and are brand new achievements of the socialist revolution. They mark the actual beginning of communism, and in essence are superior to all old things. Isn't the fact clear? Which are better: the model revolutionary theatrical plays which portray the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers or the old theatrical works which portray emperors, princes, generals and ministers, and scholars and beauties? Which is better: The working-class leadership over schools or the domination of schools by bourgeois intellectuals? Which is better: to train laborers with socialist consciousness and culture or bourgeois intellectual aristocrats? Which is better: to run schools with an open door or to study behind closed doors? And which is better: to temper educated youth in the violent waves and storms of the three great revolutionary movements or to train them in "hot houses"? One can easily answer these questions if one takes the proletarian stand and not the bourgeois stand.

Those who differ in class stands also differ in thoughts and feelings. Chairman Mao points out: "There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without cause." "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." This instruction of Chairman Mao's clearly reminds us that what to love and what to hate has its class origin. Why is it that some people dislike all kinds of socialist new things? Because they look at the question from the bourgeois stand. Therefore, they are used to the old things and hanker after them. Such people resemble the old lady in Lu Hsün's novel Storm, always complaining that "the weather has never been so hot, and the beans have never been so tough." The replacement of the old by the new is a universal and irresistible law of the universe. Socialist new things will definitely defeat capitalist

old things--this is an objective law independent of men's will. In order to adjust one's thinking to changed conditions, one must remold one's own world outlook, bring about the most radical rupture with old traditional ideas and free oneself from the shackles of bourgeois and revisionist ideologies. Otherwise, one may stand in opposition to new things and become a stumbling block to them.

There is a process for the development of socialist new things. It is impossible for all socialist new things to become flawless and perfect at once. To demand all-round perfection without any shortcomings is an illusion divorced from reality. It is entirely wrong to grasp some particular problems and superficial appearances of new things and magnify and negate them at will. To attack one point and magnify it as much as possible without taking the rest is a habitual tactic used by a handful of class enemies to oppose the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. If our comrades take a wrong attitude toward socialist new things and belittle them by taking their shortcomings, they will go wrong. One who takes this attitude basically doesn't understand the relations between the main trend and side issues and between appearance and essence, nor does he know the difference between "one finger" and "nine fingers." Marxism teaches us to look at a problem from its essence. Socialist new things are "young communist shoots," they are good in their main aspect and revolutionary in nature. Even if they have shortcomings and errors, these are caused during their advance, and are non-essential and secondary things. Compared with the old things, Lenin pointed out, "each mistake made by the millions upon millions of ordinary workers and peasants in their earnest work of transforming their whole life can offset one thousand or one million 'flawless' achievements made by the few exploiters, achievements in deceiving the laborers." ("Letter to the American Workers") While affirming the new things, we have never denied that they still have shortcomings, which must be overcome. We are convinced that under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it is entirely possible to overcome the shortcomings of new things in the course of their advance by relying on the broad masses of people. To ridicule, satirize or doubt the new things in any way--"all this is in effect a means used by the bourgeoisie to oppo-e the proletarian class struggle." (Lenin, "A Great Beginning") Any such ideas must be exposed and criticized.

At present, we are further implementing the various proletarian policies of the Party. To do so is for the purpose of arousing all positive factors and uniting with those who can be united; of summing up experience, improving work, consolidating the socialist new things with still better results, and developing the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius; and of waging a more effective struggle against capitalism and revisionism and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we take the proletarian stand, it will not be difficult for us to understand the necessity and importance of implementing Party policies. However, if we take the bourgeois stand, we will mistakenly assess the situation and then negate the socialist new things. Historical experience merits attention. In 1957, taking advantage of the Party's rectification campaign and making use of the policy "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," the bourgeois Rightists launched wanton attacks against the Party. In 1959, at the Lushan Conference P'eng Te-huai, taking advantage of the adjustment and consolidation of the people's communes, picked up

several chicken feathers as a banner and came forward to oppose and attack the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes. In 1962, when our Party was carrying out a policy of adjusting the national economy, Liu Shao-ch'i jumped out to call on industry to "dismount" and agriculture to "retreat sufficiently" and attacked the revolution as "chaotic, messy and deviating" in a vain attempt to take us back to capitalism. If we forget these historical experiences and lessons, we will go to the wrong road. That some people cannot correctly view the implementation of the Party's policies and negate the socialist new things shows that they understand neither the current importance nor the historical significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. We should deal correctly with the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses and ourselves. We should sum up experience conscientiously and avoid making new mistakes.

In the struggle between new and old things, Marxists always stand firmly on the side of new things and wage an uncompromising struggle against opportunism and revisionism that defend old things. Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis and great practice in this respect have set us a good example. In "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," Chairman Mao warmly praised the newly emerging peasant movement and said "It's fine." He strongly condemned Ch'en Tu-hsiu's counter-revolutionary theory slandering the peasant movement. In "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," he criticized Lin Piao for raising a pessimistic tune and asking the question "how long can we keep the red flag flying?" He firmly believed that the high tide of revolution would surely arrive, that the single spark at the base area in the Chingkang Mountains would inevitably start a prairie fire. In "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation" and the preface and introductory notes to "The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside," he refuted Liu Shao-ch'i's various fallacies sabotaging the agricultural cooperation movement and resolutely supported the peasants' enthusiasm for building socialism. It is with Chairman Mao's ardent support and culture that new things which emerged during the great proletarian cultural revolution have grown and developed. In the current struggle over whether to support or oppose socialist new things it warms our hearts to recall Chairman Mao's great practice and review his teachings. It helps us know how to deal correctly with and warmly support new things, and struggle against all erroneous ideas and tendencies detrimental to new things.

Whether to support or oppose socialist new things is an important aspect of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. To oppose the new things is in essence to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to negate the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and to turn back the wheel of history. In all our work, we should take class struggle as the key link and adhere to the Party's basic line. We must deal resolute blows at a handful of class enemies who sabotage new socialist things. We must criticize erroneous thinking and tendencies that oppose socialist new things. We must distinguish between correct and erroneous lines. To deal with those comrades who have erred, we should apply the formula "unity, criticism, unity" to achieve

the two-fold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. We should help them raise their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and help them move their feet over to the side of the proletariat. At the same time, we should sum up experience conscientiously and take active measures to help socialist new things overcome their defects in the course of development, so that they will become still better and still more consolidated and continue to develop. "Past the sunken boat, a thousand vessels wing; beyond the withered tree, ten thousand saplings spring." All old capitalist things will eventually perish and all new socialist things will surely emerge constantly and march in big strides on the road leading to communism!

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Learn from Past Mistakes to Avoid Future Ones, Cure the Sickness to Save the Patient

by

Ch'i Yen (齐彦)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

The policy "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, cure the sickness to save the patient" is an important component part of Chairman Mao's proletarian line and policy toward cadres; it is the only correct policy for our Party to deal with errant cadres. While strengthening the ideological and organizational building of our Party, it is rather necessary for us to study again this teaching of Chairman Mao's in order to raise our awareness of this policy.

In the splendid work "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," Chairman Mao makes an all-round and in-depth statement on this policy, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, cure the sickness to save the patient." He points out: "The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyze and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by 'learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones.' But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death. A person with appendicitis is saved when the surgeon removes his appendix. So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide his sickness for fear of treatment or persist in his mistakes until he is beyond cure, so long as he honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his sickness so that he can become a good comrade."

Chairman Mao's teaching manifests the high level of principle and solemnity of our Party as well as demonstrates its concern, loving care and spirit of responsibility for its cadres. The policy "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, cure the sickness to save the patient," is permeated with a basic spirit, that is, with regard to errant cadres, we should place the main emphasis on education, proceed from the desire for unity and, through criticism and self-criticism, arrive at a new unity on a new basis.

Our Party's experience over the past decades proves that the great majority of errant cadres can make amends under the leadership and education by the Party's correct line, and that those who persist in their mistakes and refuse to reform despite repeated education are only a very small minority. Mistakes will necessarily cause harm to the revolutionary cause, and this is a bad thing. But when people recognize and correct their mistakes and accept the experience and lessons, they will become wiser and do their work better, and a bad thing can then be turned into a good thing. For this reason, our Party does not discriminate against nor abandon errant comrades; instead, it insists on giving them education and re-education, giving them not only serious criticism but also warmhearted assistance, so that they may be helped to clarify their thought and be united to continue to work for the revolution. During the great proletarian cultural revolution Chairman Mao reaffirmed the policy "learn from past mistakes to avoid future

ones, cure the sickness to save the patient," and he admonished us, saying: So long as they are not anti-Party and anti-socialist elements and do not persist in their mistakes nor refuse to change after repeated education, they should be permitted to mend their ways and encouraged to atone for their sins with fresh merit. As our Party thoroughly enforced this Marxist-Leninist policy, it educated and saved the errant cadres, united with everyone who could be united, and isolated to the maximum and hit at a small handful of class enemies.

The policy "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, cure the sickness to save the patient" is applicable to all categories of cadres. Both toward old and new cadres who make mistakes, this policy must be seriously carried out on the basis of strictly differentiating two different types of contradictions. In the case of contradictions among the people, we should, in accordance with the formula "unity, criticism, unity," guide them to correct their mistakes, accept the lessons and continue to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Revolutionary old cadres are an important part of our Party's cadre contingent. Among those old cadres who have made mistakes, we have already done a large amount of educational work and work of implementing the policy, and in the future we must still do even better in order to give full play to the role of revolutionary old cadres. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, leading groups at all levels have put into practice the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young. On all fronts large groups of new cadres have been selected and assigned to leadership posts. This has added new blood and new strength to our cadre contingent. Party organizations at all levels must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive concerning training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, train and educate them seriously so that they may be better tempered and grow sturdily. Our many revolutionary old cadres grew up and matured gradually only after they had had their successes and failures and gained both positive and negative experiences, the correct and the wrong. Naturally there will be no exception for the growth of new cadres. In the complicated class and line struggles, and under the corrosion and influence of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, some new cadres can hardly avoid making this or that mistake. We should, with a high sense of revolutionary responsibility, place strict demands on them, help them enthusiastically, allow them to correct their mistakes, and should not "condemn them all" once they make mistakes. To slight the training and education of new cadres and to be indifferent to or even take delight in their shortcomings and mistakes--this attitude is a manifestation of the bourgeois world outlook and detrimental to the training of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

In carrying out the policy "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, cure the sickness to save the patient," we must first of all have a desire to unite with errant comrades. If we do not have the subjective desire for unity, we are bound to criticize them without restraint and carry our struggle against them to excess. This then requires us to apply the viewpoint of one dividing into two and carry out dialectical and concrete analyses of errant comrades, not only seeing what they have done at a particular moment but also looking at their entire history and work, their consistent performance in revolutionary struggle and then giving them appropriate evaluation. We should see that comrades who make mistakes,

even serious ones, so long as their contradictions with us are not those between the enemy and us, usually have their fine points, achievements and positive factors besides having their shortcomings, mistakes and negative factors, and some of them may even have contributed to the revolution. Provided that they correct their mistakes, they will still be able to do their work well in the future. It is only when we look at a problem in its entirety and avoid the onesidedness of negating everything that we can warmly help errant comrades, and while criticizing their mistakes or struggling against them, we shall be able to seek truth from facts and not go to excess. On the other hand, as far as errant comrades are concerned, they should humbly accept the Party education and mass criticism, must be strict in dissecting themselves, and have the determination to break away from wrong things and seriously remold their world outlook. If they are afraid of treatment when they are sick and refuse the comrades' criticism and help, they will sink deeper into the pit and their future is at stake.

In order to achieve the aim of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient, it is essential to unfold active ideological struggle and help errant comrades clarify their thought and accept the experience and lessons. Clearing up thought is a prerequisite for arriving at a new unity on a new basis. In talking about unity, we do not mean unprincipled unity, but unity based on the principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. And such revolutionary unity can be realized only through carrying out active ideological struggle. The practice of bringing about harmony without principle, rejecting ideological struggle and evading contradictions appears to attach importance to unity and to loving care for comrades; in fact, it endangers unity and harms the comrades. In the article "Combat Liberalism," Chairman Mao pointed out: "We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for insuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight." "Liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations." Comrades having liberalist thought will not criticize revisionism, capitalism and erroneous ideas and tendencies. If we deal with errant comrades with such a liberalist attitude, we will only accommodate them or even shield and condone them, with the result that they will go further down the wrong track. Only by "learning from past mistakes" can we "avoid future ones"; only by "curing the sickness" can we "save the patient." Without doing the work of "learning from past mistakes" and "curing the sickness," we cannot attain the results of "avoiding future mistakes" and "saving the patient." Without active ideological struggle, it will be impossible to arrive at a new unity on a new basis.

Many comrades have mistakes largely because they come under the influence of the revisionist line and bourgeois ideology, and because they have not properly remolded their bourgeois world outlook. Basically, to help errant comrades clear up their thought is to help them distinguish between the right and wrong lines, raise their consciousness of class and line struggles and increase their ability to resist bourgeois and revisionist corruption. This makes it necessary to deeply criticize the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, to enable errant comrades to truly recognize the reactionary and dangerous nature of the revisionist line and to stay away from and firmly struggle against it. Intra-Party struggle is a

reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. In order to help errant comrades recognize and correct their mistakes, it is necessary not only to analyze the harm caused by their mistakes but also to analyze the circumstances in which the mistakes are made, the social, class, ideological and historical sources of the mistakes, so that they will accept the lessons and raise their consciousness on such a basic question as class struggle. Since this is a piece of work aimed at changing people's world outlook, it is necessary to use the method of putting facts on the table, reasoning things out, and patient persuasion. We should have faith in the power of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung, convinced that it can defeat all kinds of wrong ideas and make the overwhelming majority of errant comrades change over. At the same time, we should believe that the overwhelming majority of errant comrades can accept education and return to the correct line. As long as errant comrades are willing to correct their mistakes and seriously do so, we must trust them and unite them to continue to work with us. When we emphasize ideological education, we do not of course reject organizational disciplinary measures and organizational adjustment. To ferret out renegades and secret agents who sneak into the Party and to take the necessary disciplinary actions against a small number of Party members and cadres who commit serious violations of discipline is essential in safeguarding the unity and solidarity of the Party and in strengthening the fighting power of the Party organization. However, in handling people, we ought to adopt a prudent attitude and the policy of combining strict ideological criticism with lenient organizational disciplinary action. To do things rashly is against the Party's cadre line and policy.

The magnificent cause of socialist revolution and construction in our country requires the whole Party and the people of the whole country to fully display their revolutionary initiative, and entails the need to unite with everyone who can be united to work for socialism. To seriously carry out the policy "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, cure the sickness to save the patient," to educate comrades who make mistakes, including those who make grave mistakes, in such a way that they will turn around and continue the revolution--such is an important link in strengthening Party unity and mobilizing all positive factors to serve socialism. We should conscientiously study Chairman Mao's teachings, continue to sum up experience, and make a greater success of work in this field.

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Adhere to the Correct Line of Integrating Youth with Workers and Peasants

- Study "The Orientation of the Youth Movement"

by

Shih Ling (石凌)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

After analyzing the tasks, targets and driving force of the Chinese revolution and based on its historical experience, our great leader Chairman Mao in his brilliant work "The Orientation of the Youth Movement" profoundly points out the importance of integrating revolutionary youth with workers and peasants and lays down a Marxist-Leninist line for youth work. For several decades, guided by this line, the Chinese young people have persevering.y taken the road of integrating with the masses of workers and peasants and made positive contributions to the revolution. We should continue to uphold this correct line laid down by Chairman Mao.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, millions upon millions of educated young people in our country have put into effect the line set in "The Orientation of the Youth Movement." In warm response to Chairman Mao's call "it is very necessary for educated young people to go to the countryside to be reeducated by poor and lower-middle peasants," and filled with high aims and lofty ambitions, they have gone to the countryside and border regions, stirring up a new upsurge in going to the mountains and rural areas and bringing about a new stage on the road of integrating themselves with workers and peasants. Together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, they are earnestly studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, criticizing revisionism and capitalism, and playing an important role in the socialist revolution and construction in the countryside. A new generation is growing up sturdily. They are gradually turning themselves into socialist-minded laborers people with culture. Many have been admitted into the CCP or CYL, and have become grassroot cadres. Large numbers of them have become backbone elements for theoretical study and worked in the medical and health, cultural, educational, agrotechnical and scientific research fields. Some have made discoveries and inventions. With practical actions, they have fiercely pounded away at the traditional idea of looking down upon labor and despising workers and peasants--an idea of the exploiting class over several thousand years. This has provided a profound education to those who are sceptical about the educated youth taking the road of integrating with workers and peasants and also dealt a strong rebuff to the opposition. Practice shows that for educated youth to go to the countryside to be reeducated by poor and lower-middle peasants is an important measure for taking the road of integrating with workers and peasants. This is a new socialist thing of tremendous vitality, and its orientation is absolutely correct. It has far-reaching significance in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, restricting bourgeois rights, gradually narrowing the three major differences, strengthening the construction of the countryside, and promoting the development of socialist agriculture. We should continue doing so throughout the historical period of socialism. At present, to

study again Chairman Mao's brilliant work "The Orientation of the Youth Movement" is of tremendous current significance for us to continue to do a good job of sending educated youth to the countryside, consolidate and develop the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and criticize and boycott certain erroneous viewpoints and tendencies which run counter to Chairman Mao's line.

Chairman Mao says: "How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so." This clearly indicates that whether or not young people persistently integrate themselves with the workers and peasants is a question of political stand and political attitude. Any youth who wants to participate in revolution must integrate with workers and peasants; there is no other way. Meanwhile, it also reminds us that whether or not strenuous efforts should be made to guide and assist educated youth in taking the road of integrating themselves with workers and peasants involves the question of what line should be followed in youth work.

Integrating revolutionary young people with workers and peasants is determined by the nature and tasks of the proletarian revolution as well as by the position of the workers and peasants as the major force in the revolution. The revolutionary cause of the proletariat is the cause of the masses, and its fundamental strength lies in the workers and peasants. In this article "The Orientation of the Youth Movement" Chairman Mao repeatedly emphaizes the role of workers and peasants in relation in the revolutionary struggle, and points out an extremely important historical experience of the Chinese revolution--"if we are to sum up the experience of the revolution of the past decades, we may say that the people throughout the country have not been fully mobilized and that the reactionaries have invariably opposed and sabotaged such mobilization. Only by mobilizing and organizing the workers and peasants, who comprise 90 percent of the population, is it possible to overthrow imperialism and feudalism." Although the nature and tasks of the revolution have changed after the Chinese revolution won the nationwide victory and entered the period of socialist revolution, the main force of the revolution is still the worker-peasant masses, namely, the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. Without the persistent struggle of the broad masses of workers and peasants it will be impossible to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, use socialism to defeat capitalism, and ultimately abolish classes and three major differences,and realize communism. Therefore, to positively guide the vast numbers of young people to integrate with workers and peasants in accordance with Chairman Mao's line is the only correct way to lead them toward the revolution on the basis of the needs of the proletarian revolution.

In his work "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" Chairman Mao points out that "intellectuals and young students do not constitute a separate class or stratum." They invariably belong to and serve a certain class. Under socialist conditions, they either belong to and serve the proletariat or belong to and serve the bourgeoisie. There must be the one or the other. The reason is that the main contradiction in our country today is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and each wants to train young people into its own successors in accordance with its own class interests and wishes. When we adhere firmly to the correct line of integrating young people with the worker-peasant masses and positively guide and help them to integrate closely with the worker-peasant masses, it is our aim to make them stand on the side of the proletariat, become successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, foster the world outlook of the proletariat, and serve the proletariat. Otherwise, if the line is wrong, the young people will estrange themselves from the worker-peasant masses and be drawn over to the side of the bourgeoisie. Whether young people should be encouraged to integrate with the worker-peasant masses is a question that concerns whether there will be successors to our proletarian revolutionary cause, whether the leadership of our Party and state will in future remain in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries, and whether we can combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration. To train young people into successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with the line formulated by Chairman Mao is a matter of fundamental importance for a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand years.

The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. They are full of revolutionary enthusiasm and filled with a compelling desire to serve the worker-peasant masses. However, as Chairman Mao points out in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "some of our young people think that everything ought to be perfect once a socialist society is established and that they should be able to enjoy a happy life readymade, without working for it." Given such a state of mind, some young people are likely to forget about classes and class struggle in socialist society and become vulnerable to corrosion by bourgeois ideas. And this will be used by the class enemies to instigate certain young people to deviate from the path of integrating with workers and peasants. We must therefore adhere firmly to Chairman Mao's correct line. When we, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's correct line, lead them to mingle with the worker-peasant masses and take part in the three great revolutionary movements--class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment--together with them, they will learn the latter's firm class stand, high consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, lofty qualities and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. We will then enable them to heighten their communist consciousness and awareness of the need to remold their world outlook and eliminate the influence of the reactionary world outlook of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes that despise the workers and peasants. They will become one with the worker-peasant masses in thinking and feeling, and resolutely struggle against all sabotage activities of the class enemies. Thus, they will really be able to serve the worker-peasant masses. Likewise, educated youth among workers and poor and lower-middle peasants must also persistently integrate with the worker-peasant masses, modestly accept re-education from workers and poor and lower-middle

peasants, consciously restrict bourgeois rights, and wholeheartedly serve the worker-peasant masses.

To adhere to the correct line of integrating young people with the worker-peasant masses is also conducive to solving the problem of combining theory with practice, enabling young people to turn their incomplete book knowledge into relatively complete knowledge. After a few years of schooling, young people have a certain amount of book knowledge. However, as Chairman Mao points out, "Until an intellectuals' book knowledge is integrated with practice, it is not complete, and it may be very incomplete indeed." ("Speech at the CCP National Propaganda Work Conference") To encourage young people to go among the worker-peasant masses and apply their book knowledge to the practice of mass struggle and to review, enrich and develop it in practice will enable them to gradually overcome their shortcomings and obtain relatively complete and useful knowledge. The view which holds that only book knowledge gained in the classroom is real knowledge is onesided. Expounding on the question of what knowledge is, Chairman Mao points out incisively: "Since the existence of class society there have been only two kinds of knowledge in the world. One is called knowledge of struggle for production; the other, knowledge of class struggle. Natural science and social science are the crystallization of these two kinds of knowledge. As for philosophy, it is a generalization and summing up of natural and social knowledge." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") It is impossible to have a good grasp of these two kinds of knowledge simply by studying behind closed doors. During the 17 years before the great proletarian cultural revolution, dominated by the revisionist line in education, many students remained divorced from the worker-peasant masses and from practice throughout the dozen years from primary school to university. Could they claim to have grasped these two kinds of knowledge? Practice shows that this is the method for training successors of the bourgeoisie. To train young people into revolutionary fighters of the proletariat, we must let them be tempered in the great struggle to transform society and reshape nature, and strive to achieve the unity of theory and practice. If you are to practice Marxism and not revisionism, you must do so.

In this work Chairman Mao affirmed the orientation of the youth movement in Yenan at that time as being the orientation for the youth movement throughout the country. He pointed out: "What are the youth in Yenan doing? They are studying the theory of revolution and the principles and methods for resisting Japan and saving the nation. You are carrying out the campaign for production and have reclaimed thousands of mow of waste land. Confucius never reclaimed land or tilled the soil. When he ran his school, he had quite a number of students, '70 worthies and 3,000 disciples'--quite a flourishing school! But he had far fewer students than there are in Yenan, and what is more he would have disliked production campaigns. When a student asked him how to plow the fields, Confucius answered, 'I don't know. I am not as good at that as a farmer.' Confucius was next asked how to grow vegetables, and he answered, 'I don't know. I am not as good at that as a vegetable gardener.' In ancient times the youth of China who studied under a sage neither learned revolutionary theory nor took part in labor." But in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the young people in Yenan at that time persistently integrated with workers and peasants and used concrete deeds to criticize traditional ideas several thousand years old and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. They became models in the

nationwide youth movement. We must inherit and carry forward this glorious tradition and forever adhere to Chairman Mao's correct line.

A fierce struggle has all along existed over the question of whether young people should persistently integrate with workers and peasants and whether they should go to the mountain and rural areas. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao--chieftains of the revisionist line within the Party--both opposed the correct line on youth work. Both opposed integrating young people with workers and peasants and young people's going to the countryside. They employed various means to harangue on the youth issue and spared no effort in spreading "study in order to become an official," "go to the countryside to make a name for oneself," "reform through labor in disguise" and other reactionary ideas. Their criminal aim was to lure young people to go astray and stay away from proletarian politics and productive labor as well as away from the workers and peasants so that young people would become their tools for the restoration of capitalism. In this work "The Orientation of the Youth Movement," Chairman Mao penetratingly criticizes the erroneous trend which opposes integration of revolutionary youth with the workers and peasants and gives this advice to young people: "I hope that the youth of our country will never allow themselves to be carried away by this sinister countercurrent but will clearly recognize the workers and peasants as their friends and march forward to a bright future." Our vast numbers of young people have not forgotten this teaching by Chairman Mao. In the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they have penetratingly criticized the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in opposing the integration of young people with the workers and peasants and sabotaging the movement of young people going to the countryside. They have adhered to the correct orientation and 'march forward to a bright future" in the struggle to oppose "this sinister countercurrent." But the struggle has not come to an end. As long as there are classes and class struggle, there are bound to be people who oppose the correct line and integration of revolutionary youth with workers and peasants. We must continue to criticize the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and the "sinister countercurrent" which negates the great proletarian cultural revolution and the proletarian revolution in education and opposes the movement of educated young people going to the countryside. We must continue to struggle against various erroneous tendencies that oppose integration of young people with workers and peasants.

While this unprecedentedly great event--millions of educated young people going to the countryside--is crowned with a great victory, it is not surprising that we should discover certain difficiencies and problems in work. It is precisely because of this that we must continue to strengthen our work in this respect in accordance with Chairman Mao's line and policies. We would commit a big blunder if, because of these deficiencies and problems, we fail to grasp the main trend and harbor doubts and waver about this task. This also concerns our attitude toward socialist new things and the great proletarian cultural revolution. In the interest of the Party's cause and the youth's future, we must have a keen sense of responsibility for the revolution and create conditions in various fields to support educated young people in going to the countryside and guide them to integrate with the workers and peasant. It is inevitable that some young people may suffer reversals in their thinking, and this makes it

necessary that we do careful and meticulous ideological-political work among them and help them solve their practical problems in their daily life, study and work. As for those educated young people who become cadres, we should guide them to continue close ties with the masses and see to it that they are not "pulled out" from the soil of mass struggle and their flesh and blood relationship with the masses is not severed.

As far as an educated youth is concerned, there is the question of whether he strikes roots genuinely or falsely. Educated young people must not go to the countryside just as travellers but must make up their minds to work in the countryside their entire life and become revolutionaries dedicated to farming. It is fairly easy to go to the countryside and stay there for two or three years, but it is difficult to live there a lifetime. Those who have already gone to the mountain and rural areas must have lofty revolutionary ideals, link practical revolutionary struggle with the great objectives of communism, regard every ordinary job in the countryside as a practical step toward realizing the great ideals, and consciously join the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in building a new socialist countryside in subordination to the needs of the state. Without lofty revolutionary ideals and without a determination to make revolution in the countryside on a permanent basis, one will find it hard to integrate oneself with the poor and lower-middle peasants even when one is already in the countryside. Hence, the question of whether one settles in the countryside genuinely or falsely is in fact a question of whether one integrates with the peasant masses in the true sense of the world. If this question is solved properly, one will speak the same language as the poor and lower-middle peasants and have deep feelings for the countryside. Even in the face of evil winds, one will not vacillate but will be able to resist them and march forward on the road of integrating with the workers and peasants.

At present, China finds itself in an important period of historical development, and the national mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture has also developed to a new important stage. The National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture, convened under the close solicitude of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, issued a heart-stirring call. This is a profound socialist revolution and a great struggle to transform nature. The masses of educated young people are a new force not to be trifled with, for they may play a very great role in the movement to learn from Tachai. Meanwhile, this great revolutionary movement to thoroughly criticize capitalism and vigorously build socialism also provides the best classroom for the young people, who may more closely integrate with the poor and lower-middle peasants in this struggle. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, we will certainly make further progress in sending educated youths to the mountains and rural areas.

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Forever Adhere to Chairman Mao's Educational Policy

by

Yeh Hsin (叶新)

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Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." "Our educational policy should be to enable one who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a cultured laborer with socialist consciousness." This policy laid down by Chairman Mao was based on a summing up of the experience and lessons of class struggle in the educational field at home and abroad in accordance with the basic theory of proletarian dictatorship. People like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, in order to turn education into a tool for restoring capitalism, tried by various possible means to boycott, sabotage and distort this policy. Despite the fact that the plots of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have gone bankrupt, class and line struggles on the educational front are still very acute and will exist for a long time. The educational revolution is an important component part of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It began only several years ago, and our militant tasks are still very formidable. The journey is far from being smooth. But at no time--and no matter what storms we may run into--should we waver about this educational policy laid down by Chairman Mao. We must firmly implement this policy in the practice of struggle so that the educational revolution will forge ahead on the victorious basis.

There has never been any above-class and above-politics education in class society. Lenin pointed out incisively: "One of the manifestations of bourgeois hypocrisy is the belief that schools can be divorced from politics. You all are clearly aware of how naive this idea is. The bourgeoisie, which sets forth this principle, itself puts bourgeois politics in the first place in the work of the school, doing its utmost to use the school tc train its submissive and capable lackeys and even use universal education to produce errand boys and slaves of capital. Never have they ever thought of using the school as a tool for character building." ("Speech at the Second Congress of All-Russian Internationalist Teachers")
The revisionist educational line advertises what it calls "education means imparting knowledge," giving the impression that their education is above politics. This is nothing but a reprint of the bourgeois viewpoint on education. The knowledge they impart is permeated with revisionist, bourgeois and other exploiting-class reactionary viewpoints, and designed to turn education into a tool for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a tool for bringing up bourgeois intellectual aristocrats. Our education must serve proletarian politics, and this demands that it must be combined with productive labor, a tool with which to fight for the restriction of bourgeois rights, reduction of the three major differences and the gradual creation of conditions in which in will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new one to arise, a tool for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To bring up cultured laborers with socialist consciousness, it is necessary to enable one who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically. Moral education is in the commanding and primary position. It determines the orientation of intellectual and physical education, involving the question of serving the vast majority of people in China and in the world. In other words, our education must take class struggle as a main subject and should first of all aim at bringing up fighters with a high level of consciousness of class and line struggles and dedicated to the fight for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under this premise, they should make an effort to study culture and train their physique. Intellectual and physical education, under the command of proletarian politics, involve the question of how to better serve the people. Only when they develop morally, intellectually and physically can the educated become successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

In the light of Chairman Mao's educational policy, the quality of education ought to be viewed from three aspects--moral, intellectual, and physical. However, some do not look at the problem in this way. While acknowledging the need to carry out Chairman Mao's educational policy, they in fact still put intellectual education in the first place and in intellectual education regard book knowledge as the most important aspect of teaching. A view which prevails on the educational front holds that over the past few years "intellectual education first" has been wrongly criticized and this has caused a relaxation of intellectual education and teaching in book knowledge. In a word, the quality of education has declined. Is this view correct? Does it conform to Chairman Mao's educational policy? This is a question that each and every comrade of ours should ponder deeply.

Chairman Mao has all along stressed that "all work of the school is aimed at changing the thinking of the students." "Young people should put a firm and correct political orientation in the first place." If we do not put the proletarian political orientation in the "first pace," how can we bring up cultured laborers with socialist consciousness? Lenin had this to say: "In the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, namely, in the period of preparing conditions for the complete fulfillment of communism, schools should not only become the disseminators of general communist principles but should also exert the proletarian influence in the ideological, organizational and educational fields over the semi- and non-proletarian strata among the laboring masses, with the object of bringing up a generation of men capable of working for the ultimate realization of communism." ("Draft Party Porgram of the Russian Communist (B) Party") If we do not put proletarian political orientation in the "first place," how can we bring up a new generation of men dedicated to the fight for the realization of communism? But "intellectual education first" runs counter to Lenin's relevant teaching and to Chairman Mao's teaching about putting moral education in the first place in regard to "moral, intellectual and physical education." To put intellectual education in the first place will surely lead to the rejection of the leading role of moral education and the rejection of class struggle as a main subject. The result would only be to put bourgeois politics in the commanding position. Therefore, "intellectual education first" actually means giving first place to bourgeois politics.

Dominated by such a line, the students, apart from learning by rote, will know nothing about class struggle, the dictatorhsip of the proletariat, and how the workers do their work and peasants till their land. They will not only become more stupid as they go on learning but also become weaker physically. If "high quality of education" means bringing up such bookworms who "do not exercise their four limbs nor are capable of telling the differences between five kinds of cereals," then, such "high quality" is obviously not needed by the proletariat in building socialism and communism, but is only needed by the bourgeoisie in restoring capitalism. Can it be that in the 17 years prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revisionist fallacy of "intellectual education first" had done our educational cause little damage? To promote "intellectual education first" is to turn knowledge into personal capital. Countless young people were poisoned by a set of reactionary traditional ideas from the feudal class's so-called concept that "when one acquires literary and martial arts, one can sell them to the royal household" to the bourgeois concept that "one who masters mathematics, physics and chemistry can travel the world without fear." To oppose criticism of "intellectual education first" is, in effect, to negate Chairman Mao's educational policy, to attack the proletarian educational revolution and to reverse the verdict on the revisionist educational line.

It is nothing but a distortion to say that criticism of "intellectual education first" implies relaxation of intellectual education. According to Chairman Mao's educational policy, while conducting political-ideological education among the students well, it is also necessary, under the command of proletarian politics, to facilitate the study of science and culture by the students. A proper study of socialist culture will help us study the theory of proletarian dictatorship well. Giving the students education on dialectical and historical materialism through socialist cultural lessons will have positive effects on the students setting up a proletarian world outlook. We have always held that throughout the entire historical stage of socialism, it is entirely necessary for the proletariat to grasp intellectual education well if the bourgeoisie is to be deprived of its predominance in the fields of knowledge and technology and if overall dictatorship is to be imposed on the bourgeoisie. The great cause of socialist revolution and construction requires that our younger generation master relatively rich socialist cultural knowledge. However, our approach to intellectual education is essentially different from the revisionist approach which places "intellectual education first." We grasp intellectual education on the premise of putting proletarian politics in command. The culture we have to study is socialist culture permeated with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, knowledge that is truly useful to the three great revolutionary movements. In grasping intellectual education, we must pay particular attention to the ideological and political orientation of the subjects we learn. We must smash the bourgeois reactionary ideological system and grasp the struggle by Marxism-Leninism against revisionism and by dialectical materialism against idealism and metaphysics in the academic field. Such studies should be lively and not rigid in form. If we allow the revisionist approach to "intellectual education first" to

negate the proletarian political orientation and cause the teachers and students to remember only their "specialties" but forget the "dictatorship" and the need for the proletariat to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, then, bourgeois intellectuals will once again dominate our schools, which will turn into tools for restoring capitalism. We should never forget the painful lessons of the 17 years before the great cultural revolution.

In our struggle to get rid of the old traditional concepts, the bourgeoisie invariably attempts to use various old ideas to corrupt the young people, and this should not cause any alarm. As long as classes and class struggle exist, there will be battles to win over the young people. In order to solve this contradiction, we must persist in the educational revolution and in having young people integrate with workers and peasants. If, instead of solving the problem by strengthening the revolution, we negate the educational revolution and the vast majority of young students and express the view that "one generation is worse than the generation before it," then, we would take the wrong stand and encourage the arrogance of the bourgeoisie while demoralizing the proletariat. Some people once made jokes out of wrong characters and wrong sentences written by students in their compositions and used them to prove that the "quality of education has declined" and to support their argument that students must shut themselves in the classroom and read. As a matter of fact, such a tactic is no new invention. There have always been instances of poking fun at and attacking the students. Lu Hsün once administered a powerful riposte against certain scholars who, citing the jokes in the students' examination papers, "lament about the decline of Chinese literature and the incompetence of young people." He said: "I presume that a scholar or professor is at least 10 years older than his students. Not only has he eaten ten thousand more bowls of rice, but he knows, in terms of one character a day, 3,600 characters more than his students. Therefore, he should be wiser, and when he finds several wrong characters in an examination paper, he 'need not' have a sense of superiority, as if he had gotton some kind of precious stone." Today, some people still want to take some wrong characters written by the students as "some kind of precious stone." Apart from wanting to show that they are "wiser" than and "superior" to the young people, they want something more, that is, to denounce the educational revolution and defend the old educational system. In fact, it is not those promising young people but those who look at young people from the metaphysical viewpoint who should be laughed at. It is not the developing educational revolution but those who stand outside the educational revolution and attack new things with stubborn bourgeois bias who should be denounced.

So far as proletarian intellectual education is concerned, we cannot simply judge a student by how much book knowledge he has gained. Chiefly, we should judge him by the way he learns the practical knowledge of the three great revolutionary movements and, more importantly, by his ability to link theory with reality and analyze and solve problems. What is knowledge? Chairman Mao points out: "Since class society came into being, there have been only two kinds of knowledge in the world: one is called knowledge of production struggle, and the other knowledge of class struggle." To teach and learn these two kinds of knowledge well, it is necessary for us to combine education with productive labor and continue to make a success of running schools with an open door. In the old curricula there were too many courses and examinations were just like surprise raids on the students, who

could not but be harmed. In recently years, the educational front has acted on Chairman Mao's teaching that students should "learn other things while taking study as the main task, namely, they should learn not only literature but also industry, agriculture, and military science, and should also criticize the bourgeoisie." The practice of running schools with an open door has been extensively adopted, and the old frameworks of the past have been broken. A beginning has been made in combining education with productive labor and theory with reality. The students have not only undergone profound changes in their mentality, but also mastered more complete knowledge, while their physique too has been markedly stronger than in the past when they buried their heads in study. This illustrates that it is necessary to run schools with an open door not only for making a success of moral education and intensifying ideological education among students but also for making a success of intellectual and physical education. It is impermissible to set cultural lessons (including basic theoretical lessons) against running schools with an open door. Even if the book knowledge acquired by a student is correct, if he does not come into contact with reality, it is difficult for him to master it and turn it into his ability to solve practical problems. With schools run with an open door, students will undergo a course of many repetitions from practice to theory and then from theory to practice. It is only then that they can correctly accept the theoretical knowledge summed up by their predecessors, knowledge that conforms to the objective laws. Of course, in running schools with an open door, it is necessary to persist in the principle "learn other things while taking study as the main task." It is necessary not only to rationally arrange productive labor and social activities, but also to guarantee the time for socialist cultural classes. When students go out of schools to learn industry and agriculture, cultural teaching activities should be carried out in coordination with productive labor, or some scientific research projects should be undertaken. In the course of running schools with an open door, if we do not grasp ideological education and teaching activities well, we likewise cannot enable students to acquire all-round knowledge. The correct approach should be this: Students should go outside of their school and while outside they should study; in accordance with the Marxist theory of knowledge and on the basis of linking theory with practice, they should master useful knowledge and techniques to serve the people.

To adopt the practice of running schools with an open door and take the road of integrating with the workers and peasants is an important means of turning schools into tools for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Over the question of whether schools should be run with an open door or a closed door, in the true sense of the word or in form only, the struggle has also been acute. Some people always like to use old yardsticks to measure new things, thinking that running schools with an open door is something "irregular" and "abnormal." On various excuses, they attempt to lead the students to once again learn by rote behind closed door in the school. They want to close the door which leads to the integration of teachers and students with workers and peasants, the door leading to the three great revolutionary movements. It has not been easy to open the doors of the schools after these years of educational revolution, and if we are now to

close the doors again, wouldn't we go back to the old road? But don't forget that the old road leads to nowhere and the revolutionary teachers, students and staff members and the worker and peasant masses would not let us do so. Lenin said: "We would not believe in teaching, training and education if they were confined only to the school and were divorced from the storm of life." ("The Tasks of the Youth Leagues") We must carry out a radical transformation of the old educational system, teaching structure and methods, take to the direction opposite to that of the revisionist educational line, and continue to run schools in the midst of the worker and peasant masses, in the midst of the three great revolutionary movements.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's educational policy, the educational revolution is developing vigorously. Through various tests, a brand new proletarian educational system is being gradually established, a new generation of men is growing up sturdily. The many socialist new things that have appeared on the educational front have strong vitality. We must cherish these new things and enable them to become increasingly perfect. We must further study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, study well the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's thoughts on the educational revolution, resolutely criticize revisionism, forever adhere to Chairman Mao's educational policy, and be determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end.

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Firmly Bear in Mind the Party's Basic Line

by

Party Branch of Shanghai Municipal No. 2 Middle School

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

Our Shanghai Municipal No. 2 Middle School was called "Wu Pen Girls' Middle School" before the liberation. It is an old school with a history of more than 70 years. In the 17 years after the liberation, under the domination of the revisionist educational line, although the school hung up a socialist signboard, it still followed the old road of "intellectual education first" and "marks in command." The torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution swept away the dirty water in the school, making it radiate with revolutionary youth. Under Chairman Mao's call "carry out a revolution in education," it has over the past several years organized nearly 200 small groups to study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings. More than 1,600 persons participated, representing over 70 percent of the total number of persons in the whole school. Teachers, students and staff members have extensively taken part in the actual class struggle. In the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and that to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, they have gone to factories and rural areas. They have come into contact with more than 180 units and learned from the worker-peasant-soldier masses. In the sphere of teaching, the road of running the school with an open door has become wider. The students have displayed increasing enthusiasm for studying science and culture for the sake of the revolution, and their abilities to analyze and solve problems have continued to be raised. Mass sports activities in the school have also developed with vigor; 19 persons participated in the Shanghai Fifth Sports Contest and two in the National Sports Tournament.

Why such a sharp contract between the 9 years after the great cultural revolution and the 17 years before it?
Why has our school shown such signs of vigorous growth in these years?
It is our understanding that the key factor is that we have firmly kept in mind the Party's basic line and carried out the proletarian revolution in education.

The Party's basic line tells us that throughout the historical period of socialism, there are classes and class struggle. This struggle is bound to be reflected on the question of educating young people. For this reason, to turn the school into a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to take class struggle as a main subject, put changing the thinking of students in the first place, and guide them to make an effort to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship through participation in the actual class struggle. It is also necessary to teach the young people to establish revolutionary ideals in the light of the experience of Chaoyang Agricultural College, and to encourage them to break the concept of bourgeois rights and continue to raise their socialist consciousness. A red guard in our school's 1975 graduating class has been persisting in studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works ever since he pasted a big-character poster criticizing idealism in teaching when he was in Class I.

During the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, he organized a "Chin Hsüan-hua group." Members of the group are prepared to head for the places where they are most needed by the mother country after their graduation. On August 18, this year, he submitted a Party membership application to the school Party branch and expressed his wish to settle down in Heilungkiang. Such red guards full of political and ideological vigor have continued to emerge in our school. The fact that a new generation of people is growing up is in itself a criticism of the fallacy that "one generation is worse than the generation before it."

In order to enable students to establish the proletarian world outlook, it is necessary to persist in putting proletarian politics in command and continue to criticize the revisionist educational line of "intellectual education first." What is meant by "intellectual education first" is essentially no more than putting bourgeois politics first. Our school had existed for half a century before the liberation, and it advertised the so-called above-politics "Wu Pen" /stick to one's duty/. However, everything from the assignment of teachers and the content of teaching to the outlet of students was stamped with the brand of bourgeois politics. After the liberation, under the domination of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, this so-called "important middle school" of ours vigorously did its best to promote "intellectual education first" and "marks in command". Some students who failed to get into a university after graduation lost confidence in their future. If this weren't bourgeois politics first, what else was it? Even today after the great cultural revolution, the "intellectual education first" poison has still not been entirely eliminated. A red guard cadre in our school at first had very high political passion, but later he became quite indifferent to the red guard work in his class. The reason was that he spent all day long studying "electronics." He thought: "When I see some people who have technical skills live so comfortably, I want to learn these things and put them in my brain, so that others would not snatch them away or get them by fraud. Then I heard some people say that technology is like an unbreakable rubber rice bowl. So, I must study 'electronics.'" Didn't the behavoir of this student in this period show that the poison of "intellectual education first" had not been entirely eliminated? Facts remind us that if we are to act on the Party's educational policy and train students into successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause fully developed morally, intellectually and physically, we must persist in "putting a firm and correct political orientation in the first place" in all work of the school.

An important thing we must do in criticizing "intellectual education first" is to fully believe in the power of proletarian politics in command. As long as we truly do political-ideological work well, a full scope can be given to the socialist enthusiasm of the students for studying culture for the sake of the revolution. A student of worker origin in our 1974 graduating class was rather naughty and did not exert himself in study. His results were bad. Why? He believed that since he was a lone son in the family, he was certain he would be allowed to stay in the city, and it made no difference whether he studied hard or not. So, better take it easy, he thought. When we found out the truth, we talked to him and together with him studied Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works. We talked about revolutionary ideals and let him take part in the social investigation at Mulu Commune so he might take a look at the long-range prospects of the socialist countryside. The poor and lower-middle peasants' revolutionary zeal and lofty ideals

contrasted sharply with his lack of revolutionary ideals and his indolence. This jolted him greatly. We then enlightened him on how children of the working class should do well to take over the revolution. After such education, he raised his ideological consciousness considerably, and he bought a lot of books on agricultural science, studied much harder than before, and made up his mind to dedicate himself to serving agriculture. It can be seen that grasping political-ideological work well is very important to prompting students to master scientific and cultural knowledge.

Cultural classes by themselves are not simply "imparting knowledge" as advertised by the revisionist educational line, but are filled with the struggle between the two lines. In the wake of the deepening of the educational revolution, higher demands have been made on teaching socialist culture. This in turn makes it necessary to carry out political-ideological work deeply in the course of teaching. In this respect, we have the following three points of understanding.

First, to teach socialist cultural classes well, we should not be satisfied only with an upsurge in the study enthusiasm of the students. It is also necessary to seriously consider the question of what they study for, namely, the orientation of study. However much one has learned, one finds it useless if his orientation is wrong. Only by persisting in studying for the revolution one can use the knowledge acquired to work for the proletariat. Once, students of one class went to the electronic workshop of the school-run factory to study and labor. They showed a keen interest in the assembly of radio sets, and even when the class was dismissed, some of them still remained in the school to carry on their study. Meanwhile, however, it was found that some students were lukewarm about doing labor for state projects and relaxed their effort. This "tension" and "relaxation" revealed the question of study motive. So, we led all of them to study "The State and Revolution" and invited retired old workers to give them "ideological lessons" about how they worked for the state and the people. As a result of all this, they were properly motivated in study. Apart from learning certain theoretical knowledge and scientific and technological skills, they organized three small groups, which separately went to the Blanket Factory No. 5 to install a photoelectric automatic woof monitor, to the suburban areas to repair motors and erect electric wires for poor and lower-middle peasants, and cooperated with a nearly commercial unit in designing an automatic wine vending machine.

Second, it is necessary to persevere in the orientation of running school with an open door. In the past, dominated by the revisionist line, students were locked inside the school without knowing anything about how workers did their work and peasants tilled their land, and how commodities were exchanged, and were divorced from practice and proletarian politics. To struggle against the revisionist line, we led the students to take part in the three great revolutionary movements in order to enable them to acquire more complete knowledge on the basis of linking theory with practice. At the same time, particular attention was paid to cultivating the class feelings of the students toward the laboring people. Since students must go to the mountains and rural areas after their graduation, a middle school must do its political-ideological work well to enable them to know agricultural and industrial production and the laboring people. To achieve the desired results in running a school with an open door, according to our understanding,

we must have an aim, a plan and arrangements. The aim is to persist in putting changing the students' thinking in the first place in the course of running a school with an open door, and at the same time to require them to study some necessary scientific and cultural knowledge and skills. As for the plan, it means that as each school year begins, we must plan for those main projects to be understaken outside the school in the school year. What we mean by arrangements is that in view of the relationship between the big classroom outside the school and the small classroom inside the school and on the basis of the principle of linking theory with practice, we make scientific arrangements for various links of teaching outside the school and take various practical measures so that the big and small classrooms may supplement and complement each other. Over the past years our school has gradually formed a relatively stable teaching network in view of the characteristics of various subjects, thereby paving the way for reforming teaching in depth.

Third, we must, in light of the characteristics of various subjects, carry out education on dialectical and historical materialism among students in classroom teaching. For instance, in teaching algebra, geometry and trigonometry, in the past when we talked about the number, we didn't talk about the figure, or when we talked about the figure, we didn't talk about the number, and separated figure and number. The result was to inculcate the students with metaphysical ideas. Now, we organize the teachers to study the chapter on "mathematics" in Engels' book Dialectics of Nature. In teaching mathematics, we deal not only with the difference between number and figure but also their mutual transformation under certain conditions. As a result, this subject is permeated with the dialectical-materialist viewpoint. In the past, when the invention of the steam engine in the physics class was dealt with, it was ascribed to the genuis of a certain scientist, and historical idealism was preached. Now, it is stressed that it was the natural outcome of the development of social production at that time. In this way, the course of study by students becomes a process of receiving a vivid education on dialectical and historical materialism.

"Young people are in a period of physical growth." Students must be trained not only to have a high level of socialist consciousness and the knowledge and techniques to serve the people but also to have a strong physique. The old educational system encouraged learning by rote and ruined the young people's health. This must be firmly criticized. Over the past few years, while grasping moral and intellectual education well, we have also mobilized the masses to organize the students to develop a variety of sports activities on the basis of self-reliance and using indigenous equipment. Apart from having two drills follow too classes and conducting teaching of physical culture in a planned manner, we have also, on the basis of popularization, set up boys' and girls' basketball, table tennis and track and field teams. We encourage long-distance swimming in summer and long-distance running in winter and hold school sports contests in spring and autumn. These events have become regular events and the physique of the students has been greatly strengthened. In the course of sports activities, we also pay attention to criticizing the bourgeois ideas of championism and putting technique in the first place, regarding proper physical culture

as an important link of implementing the Party's educational policy and changing the students' thinking.

"The problem of teaching reform is mainly the problem of teachers." A school should arouse the enthusiasm of both teachers and students and create a "political situation where there are both centralization and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." In the course of carrying out the educational revolution, we always do our best to bring into full play the initiative of the students and teachers. Each year we always set up a group of advanced models among the students so as to have the students educate themselves. In addition, we extensively launch red sentinels', red propaganda teams' and mutual-help and mutual-learning activities among the students. We warmly welcome and support big-character posters put up by the students if they conform to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. At the same time, we also pay attention to arousing the socialist initiative of the teachers. A characteristic of such an old school as ours is that it has many old teachers. Some teachers made this or that mistake in the past. Among these teachers, we carry out careful ideological work in accordance with the Party's policy toward intellectuals and in view of different characteristics so as to help them correctly draw the lessons from their experience. The situation of the educational revolution is developing very fast, and higher and higher demands are also placed on teachers. They are asked not only to accept political re-education but also to undergo further professional study. For this reason, we pay attention to organizing teachers to take up advanced political and professional courses, so that the teachers contingent may better meet the development of the educational revolution.

Our country is presently in an important period of historical development. We are determined to study well the theory of proletarian dictatorship, firmly keep in mind the Party's basic line, persist in revolutionary mass criticism, carry out the Party's educational policy, and contribute our all to bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat fully developed morally, intellectually and physically.

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The School Is Run with an Open Door and with Increasingly Good Results

by

Party Branch of Peking Municipal No. 13 Middle School

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

During the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our school criticized the revisionist educational line and, in accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive," opened its door and integrated with the seething three great revolutionary movements. In 1971, the teachers and students, working with their own hands and using a big boiler and a big tank as the foundation, built an oil-refining workshop in the school-run factory. Later, with the assistance of Peking Cogwheel Plant, we built an automobile accessories workshop. In addition, each year we organize the teachers and students to go to factories and rural areas to study industry and agriculture and to undergo training in outdoor camping. This has brought a brand new outlook to the school.

The growth of new-born things has never been plain sailing. In the field of education, the struggle between two classes and two lines is still very complicated and acute, and the main danger is still revisionism. For a time, an evil wind was whipped up in society, and it was said that if schools were run in this way, they would cease to look like schools and the quality of students would be lower than before the great cultural revolution. On the education front, under the impact of this evil wind, there were tendencies to "break the links" with factories and to "withdraw" from farm bases. In view of this situation, we again studied the theses of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao concerning the revolution in education. Chairman Mao points out: "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor." "Our educational policy should enable one who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a cultured laborer with socialist consciousness." We realize that in order to implement Chairman Mao's educational policy, we must run the school with an open door. If, as in days before the great cultural revolution, we locked the students within the walls of the school and make them learn by rote, how could we combine education with productive labor? If they did not come into contact with the realities of class and production struggles, they could not grow into cultured laborers with socialist consciousness. In this case, could education still be made a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat? On the basis of study and after looking at the marked changes of our school since the great proletarian cultural revolution, we came to realize that running the school with an open door was an important way for changing "three separations" and bringing up successors to the cause of proletarian revolution, and that whether the school was run with an open door was a major question of right and wrong in one's approach toward the great proletarian cultural revolution and the proletarian revolution in education. On this question, we must maintain a firm and clearcut stand and must not waver in the least.

Having unified and raised our thinking, we further hardened our determination to continue to run the school with an open door successfully. In face of the tendencies to "break link" and "withdraw" and resisting the evil wind, we adopted measures to further consolidate and expand the bases outside the school. Relying on our own effort, we carried out equipment renewal in the oil-refining workshop we built with our bare hands. With the assistance of Peking Cogwheel Plant and the effort of the teachers and students, we continued to expand the facilities and plant of the automobile accessories workshop, with the number of machine tools increasing from six in the early days to 26 at present. We further strengthened our links with Peking Cogwheel Plant and established new links with an air-conditioning equipment plant, pledging that each month students from three classes would come to these two plants to study industry. Besides, we strengthened the farm base in Mapo Commune in Shun-i county and established links with Ch'engkuan Commune in Yench'ing county where graduates of our school would go and with Team No. 4 of T'ayüan Brigade in Tungsheng Commune in the near suburbs. Last year, our teachers and students built another rural branch school through self-reliance and hard struggle. On top of that, we established links with some army units and shops in order to study military affairs and commerce.

In the course of running the school with an open door, we have all along placed the transformation of students' thinking in the first place, leading them to participate in practice, study theory and receive re-education from workers, peasants and soldiers. This has greatly raised their political consciousness and changed their thought and feelings. A student, when he first went to the countryside, shared a k'ang /warm-brick bed/ with an old poor peasant. Disliking the old man's appearance, he always wanted to keep a certain distance away from him. The following day, the student group held a meeting and invited that old peasant to attend. At the meeting, the old man spoke of his past sufferings and the changes after liberation. This educated that student profoundly. Since then, he no longer disliked the old man's appearance and on his own initiative carried water and swept the backyard for him. This summer, while studying agriculture, we organized the students to study the quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat. As they realized, studying agriculture is the road charted by Chairman Mao for intellectuals to integrate with the workers and peasants, and also represents a concrete action to reduce the differences between mental and physical labor and restrict bourgeois rights. Deeply impressed by the sky-rocketing zeal of the vast masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, they were resolved to learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants. They secretly got up at night and went to the fields to work with the poor and lower-middle peasants. When it rained, they would all rush to the fields to save the crops. Such progress shown by the students delighted the poor and lower-middle peasants. This signified changes in the students' thought and feelings and world outlook, changes that were possible only when they were in the melting pot outside the school, and not in the classroom.

Some say that after the school is run with an open door, students will gain less knowledge. This does not conform to facts. What is knowledge? Chairman Mao points out, "Since class society came into existence, there have been only two kinds of knowledge in the world: one is called knowledge of production struggle, the other knowledge of class struggle." Book reading is important for acquiring this knowledge. But if we do not come

into contact with the realities of production and class struggles, it is difficult to master book knowledge, and even if some formulae are learned by rote, they cannot be applied, to say nothing of enriching and developing the existing knowledge in the light of new experience. Ready-made book knowledge, to students who have not taken part in social practice, is still one-sided. "It is impossible to carry out the revolutionary cause well without relatively complete knowledge." Running the school with an open door is precisely an important way for students to acquire relatively complete knowledge. Through studying industry and agriculture, most of our students have learned how to transplant and thin out seedlings, apply manure, cut and thresh wheat, operate machine tools, and refine lubricant for machines. Those in the rural school branch also know how to raise pigs, chickens and sheep, grow vegetables, make bricks and build houses. Isn't this knowledge? Could this knowledge be acquired in the old school dominated by the revisionist line on education? What is more important is that having had perceptual knowledge, students can more profoundly comprehend and solidly master the rational knowledge from books and turn it into their ability to analyze and resolve practical problems. For example, while studying military affairs, the students took part in the surveying activities by the artillery corps. After that, they found such subjects as trigonometry and geometry less abstract and difficult to understand. On this basis, the teacher led the students to help the local communes and brigades to do on-the-spot surveys for diverting the courses of canals. They chose the most rational plan, drew up sketches and calculated the amount of earthwork and manpower and the number of work days required to complete the project. Said the poor and lower-middle peasants: "This solved major problems for us." This case illustrates that the school must open its door before its students can gain knowledge truly useful to socialist revolution and construction and can apply what they have learned.

Does running the school with an open door mean that cultural classes are not needed? Not at all. Some set running the school with an open door against the study of socialist culture, and seem to suggest that if cultural lessons are taught, the school must not open its door, or that if the school is run with an open door, the emphasis will no longer be on study. This precisely is an expression of the pernicious influence of the revisionist line on education. As long as there are clearcut requirements, regulations and concrete measures, running the school with an open door not only will not interfere with the study of culture, but will help promote the teaching reform so as to make the small classroom further integrate theory with practice and raise the quality of teaching. When the school was run with its door closed, both teachers and students lacked the experience of social practice. Even though there was something in the book related to reality, the teacher would find it hard to explain vividly and concretely. The result would still be to refine iron and steel in the classroom and grow crops on the blackboard. Before the great cultural revolution, when talking about spiral with uniform velocity in analytic geometry in class V the teacher taught locus equation with the example of a fly crawling on the phonograph record. This was seriously divorced from practice. Now, the teacher uses a three-claw plate on the machine tool as an example to guide the students to ponder why the three claws on the plate can extend and contract at the same time so as to

insure that the center of the processed parts is all the time on the central line of the plate. Students who have worked with machine tools in the school-run factory and Peking Cogwheel Plant know this very well. In the classroom, the teacher dismantles the plate in order to allow the students see clearly the internal structure and asks them to dismantle and assemble the machine by themselves. The teacher then proceeds to make an analysis and write out this equation of curve lines with polar coordinates. He further uses the features of spiral of uniform velocity to design jutting wheels of several specifications. Such a method of teaching integrates theory with practice, big classrooms with small, and comprehension with application. It enables students to understand, remember and apply what is taught. In the teaching of liberal arts, attention has also been given to adopting the method of going out and inviting people in. Once, students of Class III were asked to write on new people and new things on the commercial front. They went to the Tianmen market to work and conduct investigation, and produced fine articles rich in content and vivid in language. This forms a sharp contrast with articles with hollow phrases written by students before the school was run with an open door. Facts show that running the school with an open door does not mean that cultural studies are not needed, but that they will prove more lively and better integrate theory with reality.

As the school is run with an open door, the students have markedly raised their socialist consciousness, showing a passionate love for labor and the working people. This will benefit them when they go to the mountain and rural areas and take the road of integrating with the workers and peasants upon graduation. When we organize the students to study agriculture, we pay more attention to helping them prepare for striking roots in the rural areas mentally, culturally, physically and in the matter of livelihood. We often invite commune and brigade cadres, poor and lower-middle peasants, and rusticated educated youth to our forums and develop revolutionary mass criticism. This educates the students immensely. When students of the 1973 and 1974 graduating classes graduated, most voluntarily applied for settling in Yench'ing county in the distant suburbs. When a student, whose elder brother and sister had gone to the rural areas, was asked to stay in the city, he said: My elder brother and sister cannot substitute for me; we young people must take the road charted by Chairman Mao. He insisted on joining a production team in the distant suburbs. When students arrive in the countryside, most display a relatively high degree of political consciousness and struggle against capitalist tendencies. At the same time, they show more and better skills to build a socialist new countryside as years go by. A student, assigned to raising pigs, studies very hard in ordinary times and has succeeded in initially trial producing a new feed, which is not only rich in nutrient but also saves grain. For this, he is commended by the commune members. Having been steeled in the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside, some students have gloriously joined the Chinese Communist Party. Many have become theoretical instructors, tractor drivers, bookkeepers, and electricians. While transforming themselves, they have rendered positive contributions to socialist revolution and construction in the countryside. The poor and lower-middle peasants remark: "We wish to have as many such students as possible."

New things can hardly avoid shortcomings or deficiencies. They may take a detour as they grow. Our understanding of the need to run the school with an open door has been increased continuously. Judging by the present situation, we still leave something to be desired both in running the school with an open door and in integrating big and small classrooms. However, these shortcomings are problems encountered in the course of advance and should cause no alarm. The current situation of the educational revolution in our school is excellent. Both teachers and students show great enthusiasm in studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship. As long as we unswervingly implement Chairman Mao's educational policy, constantly criticize the revisionist line on education, and constantly sum up experience, we shall run the school with an open door and with increasingly good results and go ahead to win new victories in the proletarian educational revolution.

* * *

A Brief Discussion on Fang La

by

Shih Wen (史文)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao points out: "The merit of the book Water Margin lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all people recognize capitulationists." He also says: "As soon as Sung Chiang surrenders, he sets out to fight Fang La." Here Chairman Mao tells us clearly that Sung Chiang is a capitulationist, and Fang La a revolutionary. Recently, we carried out an on-the-spot investigation into Fang La's revolutionary deeds along southern Anhwei and western Chekiang, and collected some genealogies, stone tablets and legends. To analyze the material related to Fang La's uprising with the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, to restore the features of Fang La as a revolutionary after they were distorted by the author of Water Margin, and to affirm the historical exploits of the peasant revolution under his leadership--this will help us see the distinction between revolutionaries and capitulationists, sum up the historical experience and serve the current class struggle.

I.

"In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." ("On Practice") In the course of the on-the-spot investigation we found that the class status of Fang La, hero of peasant revolution, was misrepresented by past records of the exploiting class.

What was his class origin? The past feudal men of letters said that he came from a "middle-class family" owning a "large rubber plantation," had been a "village head" and was at least a small or middle landlord. This theory was first advanced, and was later requently cited, in the book I Alone Wake Up during the Southern Sung. Its author, Tseng Min-hsing, born into a family of Confucianists, was an opponent of Wang An-shih's reform. This man "was taken ill and led the life of an invalid" at home since he was in his early twenties, and this book was written by him in his study. Much of what was written in it was "unsubstantiated," "unverified," "conjectural," and groundless.(1) A large amount of data uncovered during our recent investigation proves that Fang La was a native of what is now Hsi county in Anhwei,(2) and had worked as a servant first in Hsi county and then in Ch'ingchi. His origin was that of a poor peasant. According to Biography of Lord Fang Yen-t'ung, Man of Loyalty and Justice written by Hsü Chih-chih of the Yüan Dynasty, Fang La "first lived in Hsi," and later became a "servant" in the house of Fang Keng in Pangyüan, Ch'ingchi.(3) Liu P'eng-shou, magistrate of Ch'un-an (Ch'ingchi) county, a contemporary of Hsü Chih-chih, stated more explicitly in his "Notes Before the Grave of Yen T'ung, Man of Honesty and Integrity of Sung": During the years of Sung Hsüan Ho, "there was a man named La in Hsi, and he was a house servant." (4) Hsü was a relative of the descendants of Fang Keng, and the information about Fang La being a house servant came from the records of the

Fang ancestors. Liu P'eng-shou was said to be fond of "anecdots on the farms"(5) and what he said should also be credible. Completed in the early Ch'ing Dynasty, Genealogical Records of the Fangs in Chenying Temple on the Liu Mountains, Hsich'un made three references to Fang La as a "servant." First, "Preface to the Genealogy of Fangs in Kueilin" in Vol. II said that Fang La was a "house servant" of Fang Keng. Second, the foreword to "Genealogy of the Fang Branch in Shepo" in Vol. XII stated: "During the Hsüan Ho reign, the entire family (of Fang Keng) was killed by the servant Fang La, who rebelled." Third, in the same volume the chapter on "Fang Yu-ch'ang" also referred to Fang La as a "house servant." Besides, legends among the people described Fang La as a bucket maker. A bucket maker in the Anhwei-Chekiang mountain areas at that time worked from door to door, and belonged to the category of casual laborers and servants.

Chairman Mao points out: "The main contradiction in feudal society was that between the peasantry and the landlord class." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") The peasants were a revolutionary class, and among them farm hands and poor peasants constituted the main force in the struggle against feudal oppression and exploitation. "Servant" also meant farm hand, a rural proletarian. They suffered from political oppression, economic exploitation and personal humiliation. "They are the most hard-pressed people in the villages, and their position in the peasant movement is as important as that of the poor peasants." ("Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society") In the Sung Dynasty, the poor "hired hands" or "servants" were in the most tragic position of serfs. The "landowners" and "rich people" "beat them with whips and used them as slaves."(6) Fang Yu-ch'ang, father of Fang La's employer Fang Keng, was a big rice merchant and landowner, and was also a "big proprietor" and "village head." Fang Keng himself was a despot in Pangyüan, where "people look up to him with awe."(7) As a house servant, the oppression and hardship suffered by Fang La were conceivable. However, it was precisely such an environment and social status that planted the seed of resistance in Fang La's heart. "A slave who recognizes his own slave status and struggles against it is a revolutionary." (Lenin, "In Memory of Count Koydin 萬伊甸") As a servant and slave, Fang La embarked on the road of revolution.

According to Census Records of Yenchou compiled in the first year of Southern Sung, "Fang La rose in a mountain in Hsi." In other words, he started the uprising in what is now Hsi county in southern Anhwei. This was the earliest record concerning Fang La's uprising. A more detailed description of this uprising was found in Genealogy of the Fangs in Shankuo. It said: On October 9 in the second year of Hsüan Ho (1120), Fang Yu-ch'ang and Fang Keng moved their entire family from Pangyüan, Ch'inghsi, to Ch'ihsien Village of neighboring Hsi county. "Fang La and his band" arrived at that village. "Brandishing" a hoe, he killed the big landlord Fang Yu-ch'ang and "tied up and killed 42 members of his family." Only Fang Keng escaped by "jumping over the wall." In his work mentioned above, Hsü Chih-chih also stated clearly that Fang La "rebelled by first slaying his employer's family." Both Genealogy of the Fangs in Shankuo and Hsü's work were undoubtedly the best annotations to Census Records of Yenchou.

Chairman Mao says: "The poor peasants have always been the main force in the bitter fight in the countryside." "They are deadly enemies of the camp of the local tyrants and evil gentry and attack it without the slightest hesitation." ("Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan") The historical fact that Fang La "rose on a mountain in Hsi" not only verified the allegation that he was formerly a servant, but also further indicated that this uprising began as an attack on the camp of the local tyrants and evil gentry and represented the class interests of the poor peasants at that time. By inventing the story that Fang La came from a "middle-class family" and had been a "village head" in order to distort his class origin, Tseng Min-hsing wanted nothing else but to distort the class basis of this uprising and obliterate the class struggle waged by the peasantry against the landlords. And the same purpose was served when some historical documents not only mistakenly described the place where Fang Yu-ch'ang and his family were killed as Pangyüan, but even described Fang La as a son of Fang Yu-ch'ang and brother of Fang Keng. Thus, the life-and-death class struggle waged by Fang La, his killing of Fang Yu-ch'ang and his family, was represented as a family dispute between the father and son and the elder and younger brother.

The days when Fang La "rose on a mountain in Hsi" were the days the Sung imperial court was tottering. The reactionary ruling clique headed by Sung Hui Tsung, in order to satisfy the needs of a dissipated life, time and again ordered "the increase of taxes" on the ground that "the taxes are light and insufficient to meet the needs of the state." Along southeast China "taxes used for building a palace garden" were collected, and "the people, driven beyond their ability to pay, turned to the woods and became brigands."(8) Under this situation, discontent spread throughout the land and the storms of peasant uprisings rose. Fang La, after killing Fang Yu-ch'ang and his family in Ch'ihsien Village in Hsi county, "returned to Pangyuan,"(9) where he had the masses organized using the "vegetarian serving the devil" faith of local poor peasants as the link. In November (October, according to another source) in the second year of Hsüan Ho, he rose with an army in Pangyüan, Ch'ingchi. Speaking at the oath-taking ceremony held at a rubber plantation, Fang La indignantly exposed the decadence of the feudal system of exploitation, and condemned the "officials for squeezing the fishermen" and their insatisfiable demands. "The people of the southeast have long suffered from exploitation," he said, and he issued the revolutionary call, "rise and rebel for justice."(10) After this gathering, the "poor" people rose in response; "in a few days a hundred thousand joined him."(11) Thus, Fang La sounded the revolutionary bugle in a corner of the southeast for an attack against the Sung Dynasty.

II.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The basic way to tell a revolutionary from a capitulationist is to look at the line he formulates and carries out.

After Fang La started the uprising, he called himself "Holy Lord," with the emperor's title of "Yung Lo." Proclaiming himself as the ruler of the south, he enunciated the revolutionary objective of "unifying the whole of the country in ten years,"(12) expressing his determination to overthrow the Sung Dynasty. This was a revolutionary line of peasant uprisings, opposing not only corrupt officials but the emperor as well.

In feudal society the emperor was the symbol of the feudal system, chief representative of the feudal landlord class and the supreme authority of the feudal state. Without opposing the emperor, it was out of the question to speak of opposing the feudal system or of having a genuine peasant revolution. Without opposing the emperor, one would "submit" to and "protect" the emperor and eventually accept his offer of amnesty and enlistment and become a capitulationist. The fact that Fang La in the course of the uprising dared to set the revolutionary objective of overthrowing the Sung imperial court shows that his insurgent line reflected the basic political and economic interests of the peasantry.

In the course of leading the uprising, Fang La persistently carried out this revolutionary line.

Attack on local officials. Wherever Fang La's insurgent army went, it "searched only for government officials,"(13) "killing all officials and royal emissaries it met." (14) Local officials in feudal society were local pillars of the imperial authority. As Marx said, "Just as the emperor is often honored as the father of the nation, each official of the emperor is regarded as the representative of such paternal authority in the area under his jurisdiction." ("The Chinese Revolution and European Revolution") To attack local officials was an important step to attack the imperial authority.

Attack on landlords and gentry. Wherever the insurgent army went, it "looted rich families"(15) and "robbed men of wealth."(16) It executed local tyrants without the slightest mercy. In the feudal state, the emperor "relied on the landed gentry as the mainstay of the entire system of feudal rule." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") To attack this "mainstay" was to attack the feudal forces and shake the ruling position of the emperor.

Capture of cities and "overrunning prefectures and counties." Soon after Fang La rose in revolt in Ch'ingchi, he captured the county town of Ch'ingchi. He then pressed ahead with victory and "captured dozens of prefectures and counties."(17) Wherever the insurgent army went, "it could not be stopped by government troops."(18) After more than three months of bitter fighting, by January 1121, the "Yung Lo" banner was flying in Mu (now Chiente, Chekiang), Hsi (now Hsi county, Anhwei), Hang (now Hangchow, Chekiang), Ch'u (now Lishui, Chekiang), Wu (now Chinhua, Chekiang), Ch'ü (now Ch'ü county, Chekiang) and other places. In all, six prefectures and 52 counties were taken. "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it." Only by seizing the prefectures and counties controlled by the landlord class was it possible to destroy the feudal bastons in various areas and march toward the great goal of "unifying" the whole of the country.

Opposing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In the ideological sphere the Fang La-led insurgent army launched a struggle against the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which defended feudal rule, and criticized the reactionary school of reason. The school of reason in the Sung period turned the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius into something of philosophy. It demanded that people "preserve the principles of Heaven and do away with human desires" and meekly submit to the government of the landlord class.

At the oath-taking ceremony at the rubber plantation, Fang La had already condemned oppression and exploitation as unreasonable and called on people to "rise and rebel for justice." Wherever the insurgent army went, it burned down "academic palaces" spreading the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and executed reactionary Confucian scholars. At the same time, the insurgent army "worshipped no God or Buddha," and "especially hated the Buddhists."(19) It destroyed temples and monasteries everywhere. The convergence of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism in the Sung Dynasty was an ideological rope used by the feudal ruling class to bind the people. The struggle by the insurgent army against Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism was aimed at shaking the ideological foundation of feudal rule.

That Fang La's line was a revolutionary line was also shown in his revolutionary political program of "equality of all before the law."(20) This program inherited the glorious tradition of the "equal distribution" idea of the peasant revolution and developed it further. In the struggle waged by the peasantry against the feudal system, "the idea of equality is the most revolutionary idea." (Lenin, "The Agrarian Program of the Social-Democrat Party in the First Revolutionary War in Russia") Fang La's program of "equality before the law" hit the feudal system of gradation where it hurt most. Politically, the Fang La-led insurgent army challenged the "disparity in status between the ruler and the subject."(21) Economically, it "practices discrimination against none in the use of material resources."(22) Moreover, it put forward the idea of "equality between sexes"(23). Although these were still simple ideas of equality, they nevertheless conveyed the spirit of making no compromise with the feudal system of gradation.

A correct line necessarily protects the people and represents their fundamental interests, and as such, it is supported by the people. Under the guidance of Fang La's revolutionary line, the insurgent army refrained from doing the slightest harm to the people. The "Ling Hui Temple" in I county, Anhwei, had a stone tablet (now kept in Anhwei Provincial Museum) carved in the 27th year (1157) of Shaohsing in Southern Sung. The inscription carried these words: "Fang La and his band of brigands arrived here yesterday, but they spared the people and the livestock." This was historical evidence of Fang La's insurgent army protecting the people. Legends had it that there was a "bidding farewell in tears pavillion" in Wu township in T'unghsiang county, Chekiang. Here the people of Wu township were said to bid farewell in tears to the insurgent forces who were retreating from Hsiuchou. The masses of people indeed treated the insurgent forces as their flesh and blood.

After an analytical study of Fang La's revolutionary line, one knows clearly that this insurgent army was indeed an army of real revolutionaries--"brigands who did not 'carry out the wish of Heaven.'" But in Water Margin Sung Chiang hoisted the white flag of "carrying out the wish of Heaven" and pushed a capitulationist line of opposing corrupt officials only but not the emperor and finally accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment. He was nothing but a capitulationist.

III.

Once set, whether a revolutionary line can be carried out to the end is a touchstone separating genuine revolutionaries from sham. Fang La's revolutionary spirit was precious also because in the course of his bloody

fighting with the enemy, he never wavered or gave in. He refused the enemy's inducement nor submitted to his threat. He had lofty revolutionary integrity.

As flames of the peasant revolution led by Fang La spread across Anhwei and Chekiang, it sent "a wave of shock to the southeast."(24) The ruling clique headed by Sung Hui Tsung, seized with panic, adopted the counter-revolutionary dual tactics habitually resorted to by the reactionary ruling class: military suppression and political inducement to surrender. On receiving the "urgent reports" from the southeast, Sung Hui Tsung angrily ordered the "crack troops in the capital and the barbarian and Han troops of Ch'in and Tsin" to march toward the southeast. In the meantime, he successively issued three decrees "offering appeasement." Fang La and his insurgent forces faced a severe test.

The reactionaries knew that to dissolve the revolution by means of "appeasement" was much "less costly" than the use of force to stamp it out. For this would turn the revolutionary forces into counter-revolutionary forces and "enemies" into accomplices without having to use one soldier or fire one shot. In his edict "offering appeasement," Sung Hui Tsung offered "rewards" to those who "pacify the southern land."(25) Against this inducement to surrender, the insurgent army headed by Fang La waged a tit-for-tat struggle. The first "appeasement" edict issued on December 24 in the second year of Hsüan Ho declared that if the insurgent army "restrained itself and gave itself up," it would be "treated generously and rewarded."(26) But on December 29, Fang La "closed in on Hangchou,.....and it fell."(27) This was a head-on blow to Sung Hui Tsung, so in January of the third year of Hsüan Ho, he issued another edict raising his rewards. But in the same month, "Fang La captured Wuchou and then Ch'üchou,"(28) thus once again trampling the "imperial edict" underfoot. The third edict was issued in February of the same year. No sooner was it issued than "Fang La captured Chingte county and Ch'uchou,"(29) and the commander of the garrison was so frightened that he killed himself. The "appeasement" policy of the Northern Sung Dynasty thus went bankrupt.

The policy of appeasement succeeded in the case of the Liangshan insurgent forces in Water Margin, but failed in the case of Fang La's insurgent army. Why? Materialist dialectics tells us: "The external causes operate through the internal causes." ("On Contradiction") The effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the appeasement policy of the reactionary rulers was mainly determined by the internal condition of the revolutionary forces. In Water Margin Liangshan's leadership was usurped by Sung Chiang, a landlord class element who sneaked into the insurgent forces and pushed a capitulationist line of "carrying out the wish of Heaven." This provided the enemies with the internal condition to practice appeasement. But the southeast insurgent army was led by Fang La, a revolutionary leader who persistently upheld the class interests of the peasants. Its leadership backbone elements and fighters were mostly staunch revolutionaries and hard-pressed peasants. They followed Fang La unswervingly and refused to betray him even when they had to "die in a boiling pot."(30) This gave no opportunity to the Sung imperial court to practice political deceit. Of course, the revolutionary torrent unavoidably carried with it people both good and bad, and it was therefore nothing strange that several renegades should appear in the revolutionary camp. Just as Lenin said, "In various revolutionary political

parties and states there are inevitably some traitors." ("The Booming Life of Russian Terrorists") In the course of the uprising led by Fang La, renegades like Hung Tsai appeared. Hung Tsai was a general who came over to Fang La when the latter marched his army to eastern Chekiang. Tempted by the appeasement policy of the enemy, he attempted to lead his men to surrender. However, as Fang La's revolutionary line was deep in people's hearts, his plot did not entirely succeed. When his subordinates learned of this, they bitterly condemned him as "Hung the traitor," swore that they would never surrender, and left him angrily. Later, most of them joined other insurgent forces and continued the fight.

Having failed in its "soft" tactics, the Sung imperial court intensified its brutal suppression against the revolution. Faced with "government troops" who came out almost in full force, the insurgents led by Fang La put up a most heroic resistance. In the battle to hold Hangchou, the insurgent army fought a hand-to-hand combat with the enemy forces ten times its size. Although it was defeated, "none of the 20,000 men surrendered."(31) In the battle to defend Pangyüan in April of the third year of Hsüan Ho, more than 200,000 insurgents "resisted when they were attacked behind their backs....their blood soaking the land."(32) Finally, a part of the forces broke out, but the 70,000 insurgents who stayed behind all laid down their lives. Fang La, the outstanding leader of peasant revolution, was captured and heroically laid down his life in Pienching in August. The large-scale peasant uprising led by Fang La finally failed due to the limitations of historical conditions and the disparity of strength between the two sides.

Although the Fang La uprising failed, "defeats contain the elements of victory." ("Interview with the British Correspondent James Bertram") The severe blow dealt by this uprising greatly weakened the reactionary rule of the Sung Dynasty and pushed the development of the productive forces. Although Fang La, the outstanding leader of this peasant revolution, was sacrificed, his shining revolutionary thinking and unyielding revolutionary spirit became the most precious spiritual asset of peasant revolutions in succeeding generations. He had the respect and love of the people. Even today, along Hsiuning and Hsi county in southern Anhwei, some folksongs about Fang La's uprising are still being sung: "When grain is harvested, it is seized by the government." "The dike emerges above water and La proclaims himself as king." This shows that Fang La led the uprising to resist the government and rescue the hard-pressed poor peasants. For this, he was warmly loved and remembered by the broad masses. The suppression of the Fang La uprising by the feudal ruling clique headed by Sung Hui Tsung appeared to make them victors, but "victories contain the elements of defeat." (Ibid) The reactionary rule of the Sung Dynasty suffered a serious blow, and the landlord class lamented, "Chiangnan /south of the Yangtze/ is not the same again; it is fast withering."(33) Under the impact of blow after blow from the peasant revolution, the entire landlord class was also declining gradually.

The whole course of the uprising led by Fang La illustrates the importance of leadership being in the hands of revolutionaries. As Fang La firmly took the stand of the peasantry and had the brave and unyielding spirit of struggle, this peasant uprising was carried on to the end and exerted a profound influence in history. In the history of China's peasant revolutionary wars, Fang La was indeed a hero of full integrity. The course of the Fang La-led

uprising also illustrates that arming the masses with revolutionary thinking and mobilizing them to stick to the revolutionary line is an important guarantee for overcoming the danger of capitulation. The reason that Fang La's insurgent army was able to thwart the plots of the Northern Sung imperial court to induce surrender was that Fang La's revolutionary line was deep in people's hearts. Since the capitulationists have no mass support, they cannot go very far. These historical experiences are still of significance to our present struggle to combat and prevent revisionism. While commenting on and criticizing Water Margin, we must restore the original features of Fang La distorted by it, draw a clear line of distinction between revolutionaries and capitulationists, eulogize the former and oppose the latter. We must also seriously sum up the historical experience of the peasant revolution, seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, and enhance our ability to distinguish between true Marxism and false. We must stick to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, combat and prevent revisionism, and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

Note:

(1) Collection of Books of Four Major Categories, Vol. 141.

(2) For detailed verification, see the 1975 No. 3 issue of Anhwei Normal University Journal" (Philosophy and Social Science Edition)

(3) (4) (5) Genealogy of Fangs in Kueilin

(6) Su Hsün, Chia Yu Collection, Vol. V.

(7) Hung Shih, "Prime Minister Hung's Memorials" (see Genealogy of Fangs in Kueilin, Vol. VI)

(8) Wang Ming-ch'ing, Hui Ch'en Hou Collections, Vol. II.

(9) (28) (32) Chronology of General History, Vol. 141.

(10) (11) (12) (14) (17) (19) (20) (22) (30) (33) Hung Mai, Anecdocts of Jung Chai

(13) "Biography of Ch'en Kou, History of Sung"

(15) (27) Fang Shao, "Traces of Brigands in Ch'ingchi"

(16) "Tablets of the Ancestoral Hall of the Liangs in Tungyen, Ch'uchou, Nanchien Manuscripts A & B"

(18) Who's Who in Eastern and Western Chekiang

(21) "Petition for Banning Evil Preachings and Rites, Kao Feng Literary Collection"

(23) Lao Hsüeh-an's Notebooks

(24) "Biography of T'ung Kuan, History of Sung"

(25) (26) "Expedition against Rebels, Sung Hui Yao Manuscripts," Military Discussion Section 10.

(29) Sequel to General History, Vol. 94.

(31) Wang Kuo-wei, "Discussing Old Events of Wulin"

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The Reactionary Nature of Revisionism as Seen from Sung Chiang

by
Yüan Ch'ing (袁 青)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Sung Chiang pushes capitulationism, practices revisionism, changes Ch'ao's Chü-i T'ing to Chung-i T'ang, and accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment." From the book Water Margin which serves as teaching material by negative example, we witness the whole course of Sung Chiang's revisionist line from its inception to development to bankruptcy. Revisionism exists as something opposed to the revolutionary movement and there were alarming similarities in the past as there are at present. Although Sung Chiang's revisionism has its peculiar class and historical content, the class capitulation idea gives expression to the inherent characteristic of all forms of revisionism. Exposing Sung Chiang's true features by getting hold of this characteristic is of great benefit to our deep understanding of the reactionary nature of revisionism and the victorious pursuit of the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism.

All those who practice revisionism frantically preach the theory of class conciliation and trumpet the idea of capitulating to the reactionaries who oppress the people. By the same token, this characteristic finds striking expression in Sung Chiang the capitulationist. The contradiction between the peasantry and the landlord class was the principal contradiction in feudal society. The landlord class was merciless in exploiting the peasants economically and oppressing them politically and this was the basic cause behind peasant uprisings. Sung Chiang spares no effort to embellish the feudal emperor and speaks of the emperor as the representative of the interests of the whole society. As Sung Chiang sees it, there is no clash of interests whatsoever between the peasantry and the landlord class. He contends that as long as the oppressed people follow him and "carry out the wish of Heaven" and "devote themselves to the state with one heart," they will "live happily." There is altogether no need for uprisings and rebellion. He denies there is class antagonism between the peasantry and the landlord class in feudal society. In this sense, he basically rules out the necessity and rationale for peasant uprisings and repudiates the revolutionary struggles waged by the peasantry against the landlord class. His revisionist capitulationist line of "opposing corrupt officials only, but not the emperor" is precisely derived from the idealist concept of history which disavows class struggle.

To preach the reactionary notion that the oppressed class should capitulate to the oppressing class, revisionists always do what they can to reconcile the opposite aspects of a contradiction. In Water Margin Sung Chiang has all along looked upon Sung Hui Tsung, Chao Chi, as a "sage-king" who "enjoys having fun with the people" and "cherishes the people as much as he can." After Ch'ao Kai's death, Sung Chiang at once proclaims his political program at Chung-i T'ang: "carrying out the wish of Heaven and acting in concert." "Carrying out the wish of Heaven" is a catchword of the landlord class, which interprets the feudal emperor as the "son of Heaven" governing the people in compliance with the will of Heaven, in other words, "carrying out the wish of Heaven." Sung Chiang likewise calls for "carrying out the wish of Heaven" for the explicit purpose of shifting

the peasant insurgent army onto the track of the landlord class. Since the peasantry and the feudal emperor could be counted upon in "carrying out the wish of Heaven," where would be room for class antagonism and class contradiction? The renegade Kautsky of the Second International propagated the notion that "in a society there are no two classes that are without any common interests" and "there are indeed common interests between the capitalists and workers." Both Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao also did everything they could to trumpet the theory of class conciliation and spread the lies about "the two sides are friends when they are in harmony." These facts show that all revisionists have vainly tried to look for the so-called "common ground" among hostile classes as their theoretical basis for pushing the capitulationist line.

Chairman Mao has said, "The revisionists obliterate the distinction between socialism and capitalism and that between the proletarian dictatorship and the bourgeois dictatorship. What they advocate is in reality not the socialist line, but the capitalist line." ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work") This thesis of Chairman Mao's has completely exposed the fraud of revisionists in preaching class conciliation and penetratingly revealed the reactionary nature of the revisionists' class capitulation. Since the disintegration of the primitive society the history of human society has developed in the midst of class antagonisms, with class struggle providing the motive force for propelling the development of history. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not an end to class struggle but a continuation of class struggle in new forms. The contradictions and struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie continue to propel socialist society forward. These contradictions and struggles will not subside until they have run their course, that is, when classes cease to exist. Obliterating the distinction between the two hostile classes, between socialism and capitalism, and between the proletarian dictatorship and the bourgeois dictatorship, as well as preaching class conciliation, are nothing more than revisionist fallacies. Prior to the seizure of political power by the proletariat, Kautsky and the like preached this kind of fallacy for the purpose of defending the capitalist system, capitulating to the bourgeoisie and upholding the reactionary rule of the bourgeoisie. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao preached this kind of fallacy in a futile attempt to capitulate to the landlord and bourgeois classes and Soviet revisionist social imperialism, to turn the proletarian dictatorship into the bourgeois dictatorship and to restore capitalism in China.

Confining the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes to the bounds permitted by the exploiting classes, sacrificing the fundamental interests of the revolutionary people and complying with the political needs of the counter-revolutionary classes exemplifies in a striking manner the way the revisionists practice class capitulation. In "opposing corrupt officials," Sung Chiang equates the feudal ruling class with things that are acceptable. He regards the feudal emperor, who is merely "blocked by treacherous courtiers and becomes temporarily befuddled," as good, maintaining that once the "corrupt officials" and "treacherous courtiers" are removed, the people will "see the sun after the clouds are cleared." Sung Chiang identifies the emperor and the peasants as one aspect of the contradiction and the corrupt officials and treaherous courtiers as the other aspect.

This secret disposal of the principal contradiction of feudal society blurs the class character of the landlord class embracing himself, the emperor, the corrupt officials and treacherous courtiers. True peasant uprisings in history are all against corrupt officials and emperors. This kind of struggle is of revolutionary character in that the peasantry is against the landlord class. In "opposing corrupt officials," Sung Chiang makes no attempt at all to touch the superstructure and its economic base in feudal society, with the objective of defending the emperor and maintaining the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the landlord class. By confining peasant uprisings to the bounds permitted by the landlord class to oppose only corrupt officials, Sung Chiang shifts the general orientation of the peasants' revolutionary struggles and alters the nature of the Liangshan insurgent army, causing it to take the road of capitulation and accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment and become the "loyal and just army to save the state" of the Sung imperial court. This is the reason why the feudal ruling class heaps praises on Sung Chiang by saying "we love Sung Chiang, not gold."

Class conciliation preached by the revisionists in substance is no better than class capitulation. In terms of class interests, the oppressing classes are diametrically opposed to the oppressed classes and this determines the fact that the struggle between them is unavoidable, since the relationship between them can only be that of one "devouring" the other. "What is good to some people must be bad to others, and any new emancipation of one class must be new oppression against another." ("The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State") When the revisionists peddle those things that are acceptable to the bourgeoisie and discard, erase and conceal those Marxist things that are not acceptable to that class, they in fact capitulate to the bourgeoisie. Examples of such a lesson are not lacking in the history of the international communist movement and of our Party. The revisionists of the Second International emasculated the basic principles and revolutionary spirit of Marxist teachings. They gave primacy to those things that were acceptable to the bourgeoisie and commended them, using the "parliamentary road" to restrict the proletarian revolution and opposing smashing the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie. They hoodwinked the proletariat and the revolutionary people with minor political changes and negligible social reform, without doing anything at all about shaking a cornerstone of the capitalist system. They compromised with the bourgeoisie without regard for principle and made concessions to that class, even accepting "coveted jobs" in the reactionary government and partaking the leftovers from the tables of the greedy bourgeoisie. During the Chinese democratic revolution period, opportunist chieftains such as Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming appeared within our Party. They gave away the leadership of the revolution to the rightwing of the Kuomintang, vainly trying to lead the revolutionary struggle to the road acceptable to the bourgeoisie and guiding the proletariat to accommodate the partisan interests of the bourgeoisie. All these are manifestations of class capitulationism. Facts show that they sacrificed the basic interests of the proletariat by means of restraining the revolution and discarding the basic principle of Marxism. In the end they degenerated into running dogs and lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

The appearance of capitulationism and capitulationists within the revolutionary contingent is by no means an accidental and isolated phenomenon, but has deep-rooted class and social causes. It is a product of class struggle in society, the product of policies carried out by the counter-revolutionary classes. All decayed and declining reactionary ruling classes are most afraid of the masses of the people rising in revolution. On the one hand, they resort to counter-revolutionary violence to carry out bloody suppression of the people; on the other hand, they spread the reactionary notion of class conciliation in a vain attempt to blur the class consciousness of the revolutionary people and blunt their militant spirit of daring to press ahead. In China's feudal society which covered considerable lengths of time, the revolutionary flames of peasant uprisings kept burning and seriously threatened the reactionary rule of feudal dynasties. To extinguish the fierce flames of peasant revolutions, the landlord class invariably resorted to soft and tough measures and employed the counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics of "suppression" and "pacification." What was meant by "pacification" was a policy adopted by the reactionary ruling class to induce surrender. The revisionist line of class capitulation practiced by Sung Chiang is a reflection in the peasant movement of the influence of this idea and policy of the feudal landlord class.

Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. Throughout the historical period of socialism, classes, class contradiction and class struggle still exist, and so do the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, the danger of a capitalist restoration, and the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. In these circumstances, the soil and conditions for breeding revisionism still exist, with the reactionary notion of capitulationism manifesting itself one way or another. Furthermore, the revisionists also will try to confuse the bounds of principle that divide the proletariat from the bourgeoisie in respect of programs, policies and concepts and with regard to practice, and launch attack on the proletariat and the revolutionary people. The struggle between Marxism and revisionism is protracted, complex and tortuous and at times may even become very acute. This requires that we remain sober-minded all the time and constantly bear firmly in mind the Party's basic line. In performing various kinds of work, let us firmly grasp class struggle as a key link, criticize notions of class conciliation of every description that erode the proletariat, help all people recognize capitulationists, and carry the struggle to combat revisionism and capitulationism through to the end.

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Set the Masses in Motion in Commenting on Water Margin

by

Party Branch of Palimiao Brigade, Ch'ingyang County, Kansu

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

To achieve truly effective results in commenting on Water Margin and "help all people recognize capitulationists," it is essential that the masses be set in motion. In the course of deepening the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the Party branch of our brigade, in compliance with Chairman Mao's instruction concerning criticism of Water Margin, arouses the cadres and commune members to actively unfold discussion on Water Margin. In the past month and more, three study classes have been held in succession, during which more than 80 backbone elements have been given training by rotation. More than 90 mass commentary and criticism sessions have been convened. Instructors and propagandists have conducted over 30 lectures among the masses, apart from producing more than a hundred commentaries and over two hundred poems and songs. In addition, wall newspapers, blackboard newspapers and special supplements have been produced, and stories, cartoons and stage programs commenting on and criticizing Water Margin have been compiled and written. After studying Chairman Mao's important instructions and commenting on Water Margin, the cadres and the masses have realized the great significance of taking part in this struggle. They have come to understand what capitulationists look like and what the capitulationist line is. With a heightened sense of awareness of keeping to the Party's basic line and combating and preventing revisionism, they have become more enthusiastic about grasping revolution and promoting production. As a result, the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture is deepening.

In arousing the masses to make comment on Water Margin, it is important first of all that their ideological understanding be unified and some ideological obstacles overcome. Some comrades hold that making comment on Water Margin is the concern of the intellectual and cultural circles as well as leading departments and has little to do with the countryside, and others argue that they have no time to comment on the novel because of heavy production tasks. In view of these incorrect views, the Party branch organizes the cadres and the masses to seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, look back at historical experience, and link commenting on Water Margin with the study of theory. Everybody is thus made to see that this is no trifling matter having nothing to do with the countryside.

We have seriously studied Chairman Mao's instruction--"why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." And reviewing the history of the ninth and tenth line struggles within the Party and summing up the experience of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat since the great cultural revolution has enabled all to raise their awareness of the line struggle and understand the importance of commenting on Water

Margin to strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. The ringleaders of the revisionist line Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao practiced revisionism and capitulationism with the sinister motive of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. Although they and Confucius and Sung Chiang lived in different times, they followed similar reactionary ideological and political lines in promoting restoration and practicing regression and capitulation. Since class and line struggles exist throughout the historical period of socialism, revisionism will likely appear in the future, and we must therefore heighten our vigilance. In repudiating capitulationism preached in Water Margin and criticizing Sung Chiang the ancient capitulationist, we should and must closely link this with criticism of revisionism and capitulationism within the Party and criticism of modern capitulationists like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. In this way,making comment on Water Margin will become an integral part of the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship and must be conducted seriously.

We have also studied Chairman Mao's teaching--"It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country." We have reviewed the historical experience of the major struggles on the political and ideological fronts led by Chairman Mao in the past 20 years and more, such as criticism by the whole Party and the people of the whole country of The Story of Wu Hsün, the bourgeois viewpoint in the studies of Dream of the Red Chamber, and Hai Jui Dismissed from Office. This has enhanced the consciousness of the cadres and masses in holding fast to class struggle in the ideological sphere. When the discussions centered on the novel Water Margin, it was pointed out that although some people had not read the book the reactionary exploiting-class ideas preached in it, such as "benevolence and righteousness" and "official emoluments" still gave off odious smell among the populace. Influenced by such notions, some made no distinction with class enemies; some who apparently knew that it was wrong to undermine the collective undertaking took no action to stop it--out of a sense of "righteousness." Others who were in the countryside did not take to farming but longed to go to the city to make money. Therefore, we should fully arouse the masses to criticize Water Margin and seriously get hold of this major struggle on the political and ideological fronts for the purpose of promoting people's ideological revolutionization and consolidating the socialist position in the countryside.

In order to set the masses in motion as broadly as possible, we bring into full play the role of the backbone theorists by organizing them to go deep to the fields where mobilization meetings of different types are held to repeatedly propagate Chairman Mao's instructions and to read to the gatherings relevant articles published in newspapers and journals, explaining to them the significance of unfolding criticism of Water Margin. Furthermore, the pernicious influence of Water Margin in the countryside is probed and sorted out so the masses can use the material to unfold criticism. In addition, the main content of Water Margin is divided into several aspects, and articles are written on them to be passed on to commune members for them to criticize. In order to make Chairman Mao's instructions known to every household and turn the study of theory and commenting on Water Margin into a conscious action of the masses, commentaries should make use of flexible forms acceptable to the masses. We organize the backbone theorists to extract from Water Margin episodes openly preaching capitulationism and

compile short stories such as "Sung Chiang plays tricks to reject Ch'ao Kai and changes Chü-i T'ing to Chung-i T'ang." These stories are told by elderly commune members who have read the novel and criticized by the masses under the guidance of backbone theorists. We also set school teachers and their pupils in motion and asked them to prepare two sets of cartoons depicting episodes about capitulationism in the novel, accompanied by explanatory notes. They then took these to the fields to carry out propaganda. Besides, wall newspapers, blackboard newspapers and special supplements are used for the same purpose. As a result, the masses have been aroused to join in the fray with enthusiasm. The masses remark: "The realities of the countryside are linked to the study of theory and criticism of Water Margin, and we're provided with texts and pictures. Since salient points are brought out, we understand what we hear and see, and this makes criticism simple and easy!"

Unfolding criticism of Water Margin is aimed at "helping all people recognize the capitulationists." It is also aimed at enhancing one's discerning power, repudiating revisionism, upholding Marxism and keeping to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. With this in view, we take Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the study of theory, combating and preventing revisionism, and making comment on Water Margin as the guide and lead the cadres and masses to summarize a few questions with the reactionary ideas preached in Water Margin in mind, to study the relevant theses by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, to analyze one problem or fact at a time and to arrive at a conclusion and draw a lesson.

Studying the Marxist thesis on the question of line, analyzing the whole course of the Liangshan uprising from victory to defeat, and drawing the concousion that the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything has enabled everybody to realize that with a correct line, we will have people and guns where there are none, and political power can be seized if we do not have it. But with an erroneous line, we will lose the fruit of the revolution that we have already obtained. Only by keeping to a correct line can we carry the revolution to its completion and keep winning new victories. After summing up their experience in learning from Tachai, the vast numbers of cadres and commune members said: The key to whether we can learn from Tachai truly or falsely, half-truly or half-falsely, is the question of line. When we learned from Tachai several years ago, we failed to grasp the line, the thing that matters. As a result, learning from Tachai year after year produced no change at all. Later, we took hold of the fundamental thing when learning from Tachai and very soon achieved results, with grain output going up many fold and the per-mow yield from a little over a hundred catties in 1970 to a quick leap across the "Yellow River." Facts have educated us that keeping to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and repudiating capitalism and promoting socialism in a big way provides the fundamental guarantees to making a success of the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture.

Studying the revolutionary teachers' theses on the question of leadership, analyzing Sung Chiang's tampering with the peasant uprising line upheld by Ch'ao Kai, Li K'uei and others, and drawing the conclusion that the

issue of leadership is most important has enabled everybody to realize that once leadership is in the hands of true revolutionists, they have reliable guarantees for preventing the emergence of revisionism and capitulationism. Sung Chiang, on usurping the leadership of the Liangshan insurgent army, pushes a revisionist and capitulationist line. Khrushchev and Brezhnev, having usurped leadership of the socialist Soviet Union founded by Lenin, push a revisionist line. Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we have triumphed over the interference and sabotage by the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, thus assuring our country's advance along the socialist road. In continuing to win victories in the revolution, we must likewise keep to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. If the ideological and political line of the leading group of a certain department or unit is not set right, it cannot truly implement the correct line and policies of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee nor lead the masses to practice the proletarian dictatorship. Our brigade's practice of class struggle illustrates that if the leadership of the rural collective economy is not firmly in the hands of Marxists and the poor and lower-middle peasants, the Party's line will not be carried out, the socialist position in the countryside will not be consolidated, and capitalism will spread unchecked like a flood.

Studying the Marxist viewpoint regarding the irreconcilability of contradictions and struggle and analyzing the violent strife at the "Chrysanthemum Banquet" leads to the conclusion that either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind and that there is no room for conciliation on the question of line. Everybody realizes that Liangshan's two-line struggle was never disrupted at the "Chung-i T'ang". In the present historical period of socialism in which we live, the class and line struggles will continue to exist for a long time. We either carry out the correct line or the incorrect line, and either take the socialist road or the capitalist road; there is no middle course for us to take. With everybody bearing in mind the reality of class struggle inside the brigade, there is unanimous agreement that revolution must be geared to the display of the fighting spirit of the proletariat, the spirit of daring to fight against revisionism and capitalism.

Studying the revolutionary teachers' theses on the need to combat revisionism and analyzing the fact that the Liangshan insurgent force was ruined by Sung Chiang and other enemies in disguise, and not adversaries operating in the open like Kao Ch'iu and his ilk, leads to the conclusion that revisionism is the most dangerous enemy. This causes everybody to realize the truth that a fortress is most easily taken from within. An important feature of class struggle in the socialist period is the usurpation of leadership by class enemies to practice revisionism and capitulationism by means of such tactics as infiltrating into the ranks of the proletariat or through their agents, in order to achieve the aim of restoring capitalism. Furthermore, due to the existence of bourgeois rights, the influence of the private ownership concept and the inducements offered by the class enemies, new bourgeois elements may also appear in the revolutionary camp to perpetrate the misdeed of stealing the fruit of the revolution from within. After reviewing Chairman Mao's teaching that "an important task on the ideological front now is for us to unfold criticism of revisionism," we all are determined to

combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat with the theory of proletarian dictatorship as a weapon, and by taking actions to gradually remove the soil and eliminate the conditions for the engendering of capitalism and the bourgeoisie.

Studying the Marxist thesis on classes and class struggle and analyzing the fact that Li K'uei and others, unable to discern Sung Chiang's counter-revolutionary features in terms of the line, in the long run fell prey to Sung Chiang's capitulationism, leads to the conclusion that in class society there is no such thing as friendship and a sense of righteousness above class. This causes everybody to realize that only by keeping to the viewpoint of class struggle and using the method of class analysis to view all people and things in the current struggle can they remain clear-headed at all times and heighten their revolutionary vigilance. Dealing with the class enemy with mercy is an offense to the revolution,and the fact is cited that in some brigades class struggle is neglected and individual cadres are concerned only with clannish affairs and make no distinction of the class front with the result that capitalist forces come to the fore. We must seriously arm ourselves with the theory of proletarian dictatorship, come forward to strike blows at the class enemy and criticize the capitalist forces. So an upsurge in building socialism will be stirred up throughout the brigade.

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To Build Tachai-Type Counties Throughout the Nation Calls for Good Grasp of Education in Basic Line

by

Yen Ch'Un (严群)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, December 1, 1975)

The basic factor in building Tachai-type counties all over the nation is the line. Learning from Tachai and building Tachai-type counties calls for, as a prerequisite, the solution of the problem of orientation and road, in other words, having a correct ideological and political line. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." When the line is correct, and the orientation right, there will be hope for building Tachai-type counties all over the nation.

The line here refers to the basic line formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party for the entire historical period of socialism. This line tells us: "The socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. Throughout the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise, a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." In the historical period of socialism, the basic contradiction is still that between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. This contradiction is a concentrated expression of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The proletariat wants to continue to transform that part of the relations of production which does not correspond with the development of the productive forces as well as that part of the superstructure which does not correspond with the economic base in order to push society forward. The bourgeoisie, however, does its utmost to maintain the old relations of production and superstructure in an attempt to restore capitalism and push history backward. It will still require a fairly long historical period to decide the outcome of the struggle between socialism and capitalism. In the countryside, the essence of this struggle is whether to take the socialist road or the capitalist road. It is only when we grasp this basic contradiction and class struggle as the key link and carry out education on the basic line that we can continue to consolidate and expand the rural socialist position and build a modern large-scale socialist agriculture in our country.

Tachai is a red banner personally planted by Chairman Mao, an example of adhering to the Party's basic line, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and building a socialist agriculture with greater, better, faster and more economical results. Tachai's road is the only road the hundreds of millions of peasants must take to advance from socialism toward communism. In learning from Tachai, we must, like Tachai, seriously implement the Party's basic line, vigorously grasp the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, keep educating the peasants with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought, and strengthen the all-round proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields. The experiences of advanced units in learning from Tachai in various parts of the country show that if the basic line is grasped, revolution will advance, changes will occur, and agriculture will develop substantially, and that if this fundamental thing is jettisoned, revolution will stagnate, capitalism will become rampant, and agriculture will lag behind. If we take Tachai only as a "production model" and Hsiyang only as an example, engage in production for its own sake, study the side issues, and care only for appearance, we are bound to deviate from socialist orientation, nor would farm output go up, and even if it did, it would come down.

To unfold the education on the Party's basic line in depth, it is necessary to criticize revisionism and capitalism. In the countryside, due to the existence of classes and class struggles, the existence of three major differences and bourgeois rights, and the existence of the influence of ideas of small producers and the force of old habits, after the basic completion of socialist transformation in respect to the ownership of the means of production, the struggle on the question of orientation and road for agricultural development is still acute and complex, and the task of consolidating the socialist collective economy is still a long-term task. The class enemies either jump out openly and carry out sabotage activities or hide behind the scenes to intrigue and conspire, or use bourgeois rights to play counter-revolutionary tricks, or use certain inherent characteristics of small production to practice deceit. The form and tactics may change constantly, the aim of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism is never changed. We also should see that the struggle over orientation and road exists not only in society but also within the Party, in backward as well as advanced brigades. While it is settled on one issue, it may appear on another issue. The capitalist road was taken in the past and it may still be taken by some in the future. It may be taken by bad people who worm their way into the revolutionary ranks and by people with low consciousness. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to build socialism without criticizing revisionism and capitalism. Socialism must and can only advance through class struggle. It won't do to criticize revisionist and capitalist things three or five times or even ten or twenty times; it is necessary to criticize them permanently. We must never take class struggle and the criticism of capitalism as a temporary expedient. Instead, we must master the laws governing capitalist activities in the rural areas and on our own initiative launch concentrated attacks on a small handful of class enemies engaged in sabotage activities and fully use them as teachers

by negative example to carry out concrete class and class struggle education among the cadres and masses.

Chairman Mao points out: "The serious problem is the education of the peasantry." Since agricultural cooperation was effected and following the development of the socialist agricultural economy, the consolidation of the commune system, and the improvement of rural life, most peasants have seen more clearly the truth that "only socialism can save China," and they are willing to take the socialist road under Party leadership. Particularly the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, who suffered deeply from exploitation and oppression in the old society, love the socialist system passionately, becoming more and more enthusiastic in taking the socialist road. At the same time, however, we must also see that classes and class struggle have not disappeared, that the traditional influence of small production and the force of habit over the past several thousand years still exist and are playing a role that cannot be ignored, and that the spontaneous capitalist tendencies are still quite serious among a section of well-to-do peasants. As in cities, new bourgeois elements may continue to appear in the countryside. While the bourgeoisie does its utmost to win over the peasants and restore capitalism, the proletariat wants to unite and educate the peasants, form a solid worker-peasant alliance, victoriously carry out socialist revolution and construction, and eventually realize communism. The struggle is extremely acute and complex. We must persist in using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to educate the peasants, firmly grasp education on the Party's basic line, continue to instil socialist ideas into the minds of peasants, criticize capitalist tendencies, and guide them to study Marxism, criticize capitalism, practice socialism, and think of communism. As for those who are more seriously affected by capitalist influence, we must give them stronger education. This is a protracted and extremely arduous task under the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we do not understand this problem deeply, the Party's basic line will slip out of our minds, and there will be no ideological and political guarantee for building Tachai-type counties all over the nation.

In carrying out socialist ideological education among the peasants, we should adopt a patient attitude, and use flexible and easily comprehensible methods to carry out meticulous ideological work in depth. For example, activities such as recollecting the past sufferings and talking about the present happy life, the histories of brigades and villages, comparing the new society with the old and the correct line with the incorrect, and so forth, are highly instructive and can produce good results. While criticizing capitalist tendencies, we must strictly distinguish and deal correctly with two types of contradictions. In the case of those among the people, they should be solved by the method of persuasion and education, criticism and self-criticism. "We must trust that the shortcomings or mistakes among the laboring people can be overcome or corrected by them given appropriate political work."

It is a matter of paramount importance to educate Party members and cadres on the Party's basic line, strengthen the basic-level Party organizations and leading bodies of communes and brigades, and solve the

question of what kind of road leaders should lead people to take. Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Owing to the corrosion of bourgeois ideas and the impact of the ideas of small producers, a section of our rural Party members and cadres may not be able to see the orientation clearly in the struggle between the two roads in the countryside, and the fighting power of the Party organization may be weakened. For this reason, through the basic line education we should first make Party members and cadres distinguish Marxism from revisionism, socialism from capitalism,give a full scope to the role of the Party organization as a fighting fortress and to the exemplary role of Party members as vanguards, and lead the masses to firmly and resolutely take the socialist road.

Many comrades have this profound understanding: Without making mental preparations for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat or freeing their thinking from the trammels of small production, they will not recognize the necessity of criticizing capitalism nor see the prospects of the revolution but will have their hands and feet bound in building socialism. Also, bourgeois ideas will grow and operate in their heads through the channel of the habitual force of small production. To a revolutionary, this is very dangerous indeed. The way to settle this is, through education on the Party's basic line, to make Party members and cadres consciously remold their world outlook, break away from bourgeois ideas, the influence of small production and the force of habit, establish the long-range ideals of Communism, raise their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and become good leaders in building socialism.

Education on the Party's basic line must be closely linked with the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. Chairman Mao points out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." The Party's basic line has been formulated on the basis of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. Only when we study the theory of proletarian dictatorship well can we stand on a high ground and see far and profoundly understand the Party's basic line. Only thus can we grasp the sharp ideological weapon, criticize revisionism and capitalism, and build socialism more effectively. Why is it that in the course of carrying out the Party's basic line, some comrades lack both initiative and firmness and find themselves in a passive position? An important reason for this is that they have not seriously studied the theory of proletarian dictatorship and used it to guide their actions. We must master the theory of proletarian dictatorship on the basis of combining theory with practice, observe the socialist society with the law of unity of opposites, see the protracted and complex nature of class struggle, raise our vigilance against the danger of capitalist restoration, always keep a sober head, and unswervingly enforce the Party's basic line.

In the great struggle to build Tachai-type counties all over the nation, some problems of a theoretical nature will inevitably crop up. For instance, how does the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base manifest itself as the struggle between the two classes and the two roads? Why, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production, does the serious problem remain that of educating the peasants? How can we fully develop the superiority of the commune system, develop and expand the socialist collective economy, and restrict bourgeois rights? How can we, from the reaction of the superstructure against the economic base, perceive the utter importance of placing leadership in the hands of genuine Marxists? And so on and so forth. With these problems in mind, we must seriously study the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, so we may correctly solve these problems under the guidance of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. We shall then be able to develop the education on the Party's basic line in depth and push forward the movement to build Tachai-type counties all over the nation. A new upsurge has been whipped up in the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. Battles are tense and work hectic. Under this situation, it is even more necessary for us to grasp the study of theory, read assiduously, and persevere in doing so. We must resolutely overcome the situation of "stressing the importance of theoretical study in word but actually relegating it to a secondary position in deed." We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction: "Conditions are changing all the time,and to adapt one's thinking to the new conditions, one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, have to absorb what is new and study new problems."

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the millions upon millions of Chinese peasants are marching in high spirits toward the goal of building Tachai-type counties all over the nation. We must display the same ardor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same death-defying spirit as we did during the war years and the large-scale production campaign in Yenan in 1942. At a high speed and with high standards, we must push agriculture further ahead and strengthen the material basis of China's proletarian dictatorship.

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With Bumper Harvest It Is Still Necessary to Pay Attention to Practicing Economy

by

Chiang Ching-hung (江景宏)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

With 13 consecutive years of bumper harvests, China has again reaped a bumper farm crop this year. Both cadres and the masses, following Chairman Mao's teaching--"each year we must have a firm grasp of three things, harvesting, storage and consumption," have still paid attention to economy and increasing reserves. However, there are some comrades who do not pay much attention to this. They say: "However big the bucket you use, the river cannot be emptied." They argue that with bumper harvests reaped and reserves increased year after year, it doesn't matter much if we consume and use a little more. Hence, they relax their effort to practice industry and thrift and reserve grains against rainy days. This is wrong.

Is it true that it doesn't matter much if we consume and use a little more? No. When pondering over problems or doing things, we must proceed from the fact that we have a population of 800 million, and from the entire revolutionary situation. Grain is a necessity for the livelihood of the people, and it is also an important material for preparations against war. In a year of bumper harvest, we must think of crop failure, and in peace time we must think of war. To cherish grain, increase reserves according to a plan and to save more grain is a matter of paramount importance directly bearing on the implementation of Chairman Mao's great strategic policy, "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" and "dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony." At present, there is great disorder under heaven, and the international situation is excellent. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution--this has become an irresistible historical trend. The development of the situation requires us to make more contributions to the revolution. While the factors of revolution are growing, the factors of war are also growing. To save and reserve more grain will enable us to more effectively deal with aggressive wars and surprise attacks by imperialism and social-imperialism. We also should see that our country is vast in territory and complicated in terrain and climate, that the level of grain production is still not high, and that it is unavoidable that some areas are subject to natural disasters. Thus, to save grain and increase reserves will help us regulate supply in such a way that the surplus grain of one area is used to help an area short of it and the reserves from a year of bumper harvest are used to tide over a year of crop failure. Therefore, "we must store up grain, reserve a little every year and increase the stocks gradually." In this way, whether in the event of war or natural calamities, we shall be able to hold the initiative and remain invincible.

Economical use of grain and increasing reserves are of vital significance for accelerating the pace of socialist revolution and construction. People must eat grain every day, and grain is indispensable to any undertaking, in industry, transportation, education, and capital construction. To save and reserve more grain will help lay a solid material

foundation for socialist construction. In accordance with Chairman Mao's directive, we must build an independent and relatively complete industrial system and national economic system by 1980 and achieve overall modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of this century, so as to attain the grand goal of having the Chinese national economy join the front ranks of the world. This demands that while vigorously developing agricultural production, we pay attention to practicing strict economy and increasing grain reserves. Increasing output and economy are two sides of one coin. Increasing output is the precondition and practicing strict economy an important measure for storing grain everywhere. The two compliment each other. If we think that "however big the bucket you use, the river cannot be emptied," increase production without practicing economy and give way to extravagance and waste, even if we had a bigger increase of production, grain reserves would not be increased. Ours is a country with a large population. If people throughout the country, on the basis of increased output, save a little more, then in a year several billion or even up to ten billion catties of grain may be saved. This will render significant material support to socialist construction. We must, taking advantage of this succession of bumper harvests,strive to do our work well, handle the three-way relations among the state, the collective and the individual correctly, make a success of year-end distribution, and persevere in using grain economically and increasing grain stocks. When we have grain in hand, we have nothing to worry about and will work realistically and happily. This will help develop our national economy at a faster rate.

Practicing strict economy is one of the basic principles of socialist economy. China is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We rely mainly on our own efforts in doing everything. While endeavoring to increase production, we must give attention to practicing strict economy. Chairman Mao points out: "To make China rich and strong needs several decades of intense effort, which will include, among other things, the effort to practice strict economy and combat waste, i.e., the policy of building up our country through diligence and frugality." Practicing strict economy and increasing grain reserves is a long-term task. With bumper harvest we must not lower our guard, and we should not relax our effort to practice economy. At all times we must pay attention to grain. We must practice economy in lean years as well as bumper. We practiced strict economy in the past, we are doing so now, and in future, when the level of grow production rises further, we should also practice economy. Some comrades are worried that promoting economy and stockpiling and opposing liberal consumption and use may dampen the mass enthusiasm. Such misgiving is groundless. Practicing economy and reserving grain, being prepared against war and natural disasters, and giving support to socialist revolution and construction--this is the wish and demand of the broad masses, and fully conforms to their long-range interests. We must believe in the high socialist consciousness of the masses. To use grain in a planned and economical way, to draw up a budget carefully and to run one's home diligently and frugally--this is a good habit and good tradition of the Chinese working people. Thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution, the idea of frugality in making revolution has impressed people more deeply, and the fine tradition of using grain economically has been further promoted.

This is an extremely advantageous condition. We must see to it that with bumper harvest the idea of diligence and thrift does not change, and that when life has been improved, the tradition of struggle and plain living is not lost. If, on seeing that the granary of our production team and the cans of our homes are filled with grain, we do not pay attention to practicing economy but indulge in extravagance and waste, then not only will we suffer economic losses, but we may be poisoned by bourgeois ideas and influenced by the bourgeois style of life and go astray. Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin said: 'small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Is it not true that some people who committed corruption and theft and degenerated began by eating and living extravagantly? We must take warning from this. For this reason, we must look at this question from the high plane of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, establish a new style of diligence and thrift, and resist the erosion of bourgeois ideology.

We ought to see that on the question of grain there is always the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Under the excellent situation of a bumper harvest, we must not be carried away by success, nor must we forget class struggle on the grain front. We must continue to develop deeply the revolutionary mass criticism, and criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and their reactionary fallacies of "eating and distributing all" and "free transactions." Under the condition of a bumper harvest, a small handful of class enemies may also hide in dark corners, agitating for eating and distributing all and inciting those with serious capitalist tendencies to sell their grain at the market at a high price and carry out speculative activities. We must grasp class struggle and the struggle between the two roads, organize the cadres and masses to conscientiously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, deepen education on the Party's basic line, criticize revisionism and capitalism, strike at the sabotage activities of a handful of class enemies, and develop the excellent situation on the agricultural front.

Saving grain and increasing reserves is a task for which each and every comrade must show his concern. Party committees at all levels should come to a strong grip with it and do so several times a year. Economy and stockpiling must have the attention of not only rural areas but also of cities and towns, government offices, factories, schools, shops, residents, in fact, everybody everywhere, so that all will make a new contribution to storing grain everywhere.

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A Group of Short Commentaries (Three Pieces)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

With What Do We Compare Ourselves?

by
Theoretical Group of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants,
Houshengchuang Production Brigade, T'aian County, Shantung

The mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to popularize Tachai-type counties is now developing vigorously and the situation is very good. However, there are some people whose thinking does not keep pace and who hold that "we are now stronger than in the past and much better than the backward units." They pay lip service to revolution but in the long run they don't feel very different at heart. With whom and with what, after all, should we compare ourselves? This question must be clarified.

In the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, everyone wants to make comparisons. If the guiding thought is different, then the content of what and with whom we compare will not be the same. Some people are therefore satisfied with past achievements and compare themselves with the backward because their minds are seized by conservative thoughts of blind self-complacency and they do not seek to go forward. We also are for making comparisons. But we maintain that we must make comparisons with the advanced and with Tachai. If we are to make revolution then we must have the unflagging determination to scale the high peaks.

As conditions develop, revolution deepens. No sooner do we finish one task than another new combat mission confronts us. When we begin to compare what has already been achieved with the great revolutionary burdens we have assumed and with the great and far-reaching objectives of the revolution, the difference between them is very great indeed. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a great deal has been achieved in learning from Tachai in agriculture and we are certainly "stronger" than in the past. However, when compared with the needs of socialist revolution and socialist construction and with the great and far-reaching goals of communism, what we have achieved is only the first step on a 10,000-*li* journey and the tasks to come will be still heavier and the road still longer. To speak a bit of recent events for example: If we are to basically realize agricultural mechanization within five years time and if one-third of our counties are to be of the Tachai type, then we have a great deal of work to do. What we have already achieved can only be regarded as a point of departure for continuing the revolution and certainly not as the finish line. If we become self-satisfied with respect to our achievements and start to mark time, the achievements will become a hindrance obstructing our progress. The more achievements we have the more we should be comparing them with the great goals of the revolution; we must stand on high ground and take the long view for only then will we be able to go on advancing along the revolutionary road.

If we are to learn from Tachai, then we must make comparisons with Tachai. Not only do we differ from Tachai but the differences are very great. Only by carrying out comparative analysis, maintaining close links with practice, exposing contradictions and searching out differences can we learn in a more concrete and conscious manner. If we can only compare

ourselves with the backward and not with Tachai, if we can only enthusiastically appreciate "how much better" we are than the backward but not perceive "how much different" we are from Tachai, then does it not become empty verbiage to speak of learning from Tachai? If we are to truly learn from Tachai, then we should dare to make comparisons with it, map out practical and forceful measures and step up the pace for learning from it.

We also have comrades making comparisons with Tachai who compare what is minor and not basic, what is superficial and not essential. They can hardly learn the fundamental in this way. Tachai's basic experience is to uphold the principle of giving precedence to Mao Tzetung Thought and putting proletarian politics in command, to uphold the spirit of self-reliance, plain-living and hard work and the communist work style of loving both the state and the collective. If we are to compare with Tachai, then we must compare line, orientation, thought and style. Although concrete conditions in the various areas are not the same, the basic experience of Tachai is applicable everywhere. However many shortcomings we may single out, they may be summed up by saying that if we don't grasp what is essential, then we can neither uphold the Party's basic line like Tachai, nor firmly grasp the key to struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, and solve the question of which road to take. If we only compare output, learn what is minor and not what is basic, the question of which road to take cannot truly be decided; when output is low, it may not go up and when output is high it might also come down. Only by seriously learning from Tachai's basic experience, making a great effort to criticize revisionism and capitalism and to build socialism can man's thinking be transformed, can the backward become advanced and the advanced still more advanced.

If we compare with the advanced and with Tachai, we can then determine which is the right road to take, know the high ambitions of socialism and its heaven-storming zeal. If we make comparisons with the backward, or only compare now and then, our ambitions and energies will be comparatively short-lived and our sense of line distorted. On this score, a production team in our brigade learned a very profound lesson. After this production team surpassed the average per-mow yield of a thousand catties of grain, some people felt that, because output was much higher than in the past and their families were much better off than before, it was quite all right to compare with those who lagged behind. Because this team became lax in thought and lowered its working standards, it was not long before a great many production teams caught up with and even surpassed it. This example also proves that if one does not advance, he will retreat, if one does not struggle upstream then even his mid-stream positions will be hard to maintain.

To whom and with what we compare is, in the final analysis, a question of whether or not we want to continue the revolution. Those who want to compare with the backward but not with Tachai only pay lip service to learning from Tachai and are actually unwilling to endure hardship or work up a sweat. What such people lack is precisely that consciousness for continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. To solve this question, they must first of all reform their thinking and transform their world outlook. Only in this way can they make new contributions in the struggle to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to popularize Tachai-type counties.

Can Conditions Be Changed?

by

Theoretical Group of Hsinhua Brigade, Fengwei Commune,
Chinshan County, Shanghai

Our brigade is situated in the water-network region along the upper reaches of the Huangpu River, where the land surface lies below that of the river. Whenever there is too much rain, the crops do not grow well and the grain yield becomes very unstable. If we want to thoroughly change this situation, then within the more than 4,700 mow of cultivated land in our whole brigade, we will have to build underground culverts to a total length of 20,000 meters. When some people heard that we wanted to build such long culverts, they became frightened. Repeatedly counting with their fingers, they said: In the past, we expended three years labor building a 500 meter underground culvert; if now we must build 20,000 meters, how many years and months will that take? Moreover, we must have steel rods and cement, but here there is only rice straw and soft mud. Can it be that straw can be turned into steel rods and soft mud into cement?

Outwardly such allegations appear reasonable but actually they are wrong. We are Marxist dialectical materialists who acknowledge both that there must be certain fixed conditions before undertaking anything and also that it is possible either to create or transform these conditions. If we don't have steel rods or cement, we will certainly face difficulties in building culverts. But faced with difficulties it is possible to have two different attitudes. One is to create the conditions to overcome difficulties by every means possible; the other attitude is that of being slack and passive, of sitting idly by to wait for the conditions and to maintain this is impossible or that can't be done. These two different attitudes reflect two distinctly different world views. The former is the world view of a revolutionary, the latter that of a coward and lazybones. The result of discussions carried out in our brigade was that many comrades were not in favor of sitting idly by to wait for conditions. If we wait for conditions, they may not automatically come running; it is also possible that the longer a man waits the lazier he will become and the less ambition he will have. Everyone recalled the history of our brigade's struggle against nature. We had carried out some work with respect to controlling the water and improving the land in the 11 years that we learned from Tachai, but because we had not thoroughly rid our minds of the "do nothing" approach and had instead become used to waiting, to relying and to wanting, the result was we were only able to effect some "repairs"; there was not much change in the look of the land and there was no relief from water calamities. This proves that only when we promote the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and actively create the conditions can we change the appearance of the mountains and rivers. Great changes require a great effort. To think of great changes without a great effort is wishful thinking. A call for a great effort where we yet fear difficulties is a vacuous call; to want to raise production without the means to do so is to shoot blank cartridges. Were we to wait around or stand up? This is the hallmark that distinguishes true from false in learning from Tachai.

The objective situation in revolution and production development throughout the country demands that we make a great effort and push forward quickly. The question lies in whether or not we can fully mobilize the subjective initiative of men to transform the original look of things. That the comrades in Tachai have upheld the Party's basic line, made a great effort and effected great changes to transform heaven and earth, is precisely because they have fully mobilized men's subjective initiative. So the Party branch of our brigade extensively canvassed the opinions of commune members and resolved to lead the masses in learning from Tachai. "Thinking anew, taking the long view and making great efforts," they mapped out a long-range plan and in addition proposed concrete tasks for this winter and next spring. It is demanded that after several years of efforts, the whole brigade should be able to form fields into squares, roads and canals into a network and the trees into rows and we should reach a grain yield of a ton per-mow and our commune members should come to live in two-story homes. As soon as the masses saw this plan, the whole brigade was inspired and--no sooner said than done--with militant pride 309 CYL members and young people set out on the evening of the second day to deploy themselves on a battleground of large, low-lying fields. In order to transform natural conditions, the masses in all of the brigade's 23 production teams set out early and came home late to wage a "three autumn" battle in the daytime and to make great efforts to carry out basic construction on crop lands at night.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The unity or identity of opposites in objective things is not dead or rigid, but is living, conditional, mobile, temporary and relative; in given conditions every contradictory aspect transforms itself into its opposite." To be sure, unfavorable objective conditions can bring about a great many difficulties for us, but if we act in accord with objective laws and promote subjective initiative, unfavorable conditions can be turned into favorable ones; this has already been repeatedly borne out in practice. The mass enthusiasm for building culverts is very high; what do they do when there are no steel rods or cement? They investigate and find a way to change the situation. Difficulties force people to rack their brains: Is it possible to build culverts without steel rods and cement? Is it possible to use bricks instead? Experiments show it is indeed possible to do so. Thus, in the short span of a few days, and on their own initiative, the masses made arrangements and produced 370,000 bricks. However, one culvert would take 47,000 bricks and with 370,000 bricks the most they could construct would be 8; what could they do about the half they still lacked? Studying once again, they formed a sloped shape for the culvert walls without using bricks; when they did this, it was possible to build twice the number of culverts by using the same amount of bricks. After they had the bricks, how would they lay them? We began by using mud, but the arch-shaped roof of the culverts was not solid enough and all our several experiments failed. After being mobilized to put forth their views, the masses thought out a substitute for cement by using "3/7 earth" which was a matter of mixing 3 parts lime with 7 parts soft mud; this allowed the hardness of the slope to meet specifications. Since culverts lie below the ground, we can't see nor touch them. What we fear most is that they may be choked up. If one foot does not pass, a hundred feet are of no use. How then did we solve this problem? The masses groped for a method

through practice: They dug small wells at the bottom of the culverts at regular intervals, so the silt might drop into the wells to be cleaned periodically. The culverts are often lower than the river surface. When the tide rose river water could pour in, which would prevent the culverts from functioning; this also called for a solution. In the course of practice, we built small sluice gates; at low tide we would open the sluice gates and let the water flow to the river of its own accord; at high tide, we would close the gates and pump the overflow of water to the river. Thanks to careful investigations and research, we mobilized the people's subjective initiative, rid our minds of the do-nothing attitude, and on the great "three autumn" battleground, dug 17 culverts one meter deep and a meter and-a-half wide, and more than 10,000 meters in total legth. A number of them has now been completed. In addition, on over 2,700 mow of wheat fields, we dug some 39,000 meters of small underground ditches.

As early as 20 years ago Chairman Mao had pointed out: "For several thousand years, who has seen a chicken feather fly to the sky? This seems a truth." "In the socialist era this ancient truth has ceased to be a truth." "Chicken feathers can certainly fly to the sky." In the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and popularize Tachai-type counties, we need only to thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, trust and rely on the broad masses, and there will be no difficulty we cannot overcome and no wonder in the world of man we cannot perform.

Repair and Fixing Have Great Prospects

by

Workers Theoretical Group of Agricultural Machine Manufacture and Repair Plant of Lingshan County, Kwangsi

In accord with the development of agricultural mechanization, we have increased the number of agricultural machine manufacture and repair plants at various levels and ceaselessly expanded them in size. Under these conditions, some people have even held that "with such large plants and with so much equipment, repair work has become something like a small role for a big man." This kind of thinking is wrong.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, agricultural machine manufacture and repair plants have developed quickly, as have farm machine repair networks in communes and brigades. This greatly raised the maintenance and use level of agricultural machinery and farm implements. However, we ought to be aware that the repair of agricultural machinery has still not kept pace with the needs of the accelerated development of agricultural mechanization. Taking our factory as an example, both with respect to personnel and equipment we have had a two-fold increase over 1965 and our production capacity has also been very greatly raised. Even so, our present level of manufacture and repair is not at all able to fulfill the needs of the communes and brigades in our countryside. Last year, we exerted a great deal of energy and only by giving full play to the repair capacity of the communes and brigades were we able to achieve an 85 percent maintenace rate

on tractors and diesel engines in the whole county. This meant that more than 10 percent of our machines were not properly serviced. At the same time, owing to the rise of standards in agricultural mechanization, there have been more and more varieties and specifications for the accessories that are needed to repair agricultural machines and implements and the quantities are ever greater. To do a good job as "supporting actor" in the repair of agricultural machinery is still truly very difficult. If we calculate the requirements for basically realizing agricultural mechanization for our whole county, by 1980 there will be a ten-fold increase in the amount of farm machinery the county now has. The accelerated pace of agricultural mechanization also requires that our repair capacity keep closely in step. It can thus be seen that repair of agricultural machinery has great prospects.

Is it true that making repairs in large factories with lots of equipment is like a small role for a big man? It is not. Whether a role is large or small is not a matter of whether one does repair or manufacturing, but whether or not there is a correct attitude about wholeheartedly supporting agriculture. If the question of attitude is wrong, then our management may stress manufacture and pay less attention to repair, and we may go wrong and the quality of our work will suffer. All we do would be to cope with immediate needs, look for a short-cut and pass the buck around. In such a case, losses would be sustained. On one occasion our factory, because of its zeal for running trial production of large-sized agricultural machines, put aside farm machines and implements that needed repair. For this, we were criticized by the masses. Practice has made us recognize that as the size of our agricultural machine manufacture and repair plant expands we must all the more have a correct attitude on supporting agriculture, firmly embrace the idea of "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry the leading factor," and keep up both our manufacture and repair while taking repair as the main aspect. On the premise of taking repair as the main aspect, and in accord with the needs of the development of agricultural mechanization, under the unified state plan we may engage in a little manufacturing as appropriate.

To realize agricultural mechanization, the various regions will manufacture batches of farm machinery and farm implements according to a fixed plan and adapted to local conditions. Naturally, manufacture is very important. Without it there would be no need to speak of repair. However, will it do to have only manufacturing and not repair? It will not! When a farm machine or implement is turned over to the commune or brigade for use, the repair task is indispensable. Otherwise, even though it may be only a very small spare part that is defective, it could render the whole body of the machine useless. Manufacture and repair are mutually interdependent and neither can do without the other. With manufacture, there must of course be repair and the more developed the manufacturing the heavier are the repair needs; only if repair work is done well can the machines and implements that are manufactured better bring their full potential into play. To speak only of manufacture and not of repair is to be lame in one leg. Only when we handle the relationship between manufacture and repair correctly can we fully bring subjective capability into play in our repair work and do a really good job of agricultural mechanization.

The kind of thinking that holds repair to be "a small role for a big man" is actually a reflection of the capitalist managerial thought which places "profit in command." Haven't some comrades said that "repair means a great expenditure of labor but earns very little money"? This kind of thinking is not a solution but rather a great hindrance to our support for agriculture. With this kind of thinking we would not be able to keep to our orientation in serving agriculture, and would not be able to think and worry about what the poor and lower-middle peasants think and worry about. If allowed to develop, this thinking could be very dangerous. To learn from Tachai in agriculture, to popularize Tachai-type counties, and to realize agricultural mechanization--there are important matters for the whole Party. We must profoundly criticize the revisionist line, raise our understanding, correct our attitudes and strive to do a good job of repairing agricultural machinery.

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What Is To Be Relied On in Carrying Out Farmland Capital Construction Well?

- Investigation report on Yülin Prefecture, Shensi

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 1, 1975)

The backward agricultural production outlook of Shensi's Yülin Prefecture on China's northwestern loess plateau has undergone remarkable changes in recent years. Since 1970, the prefecture has engaged in large-scale farmland capital construction and water conservation projects in the course of the mass movement to learn from Tachai. In 5 years, it has used more than 270 million man-days to complete over 700 million cubic meters of masonry and earth work and built some 30,000 farmland water conservation projects. The total acreage of paddy and terraced fields has increased by 140 percent, the preserved area of afforestation 40 percent, and the area of artificial grass growing 100 percent. This means an average of 1.6 mow of farmland, 2.6 mow of forestland and 1 mow of grassland for each member of the farming community. As the basic conditions for agricultural production have improved, grain production has been increasing year after year. The prefecture's total grain output in 1974 was 87 percent more than an ordinary year before the great proletarian cultural revolution, and this year is 20 percent up on last year. The prefecture, which long depended on the state for grain, began to be self-sufficient in grain in 1973.

The changes in Yülin Prefecture have been achieved by the masses and cadres who, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, took the Party's basic line as the key link, firmly grasped class and two-road struggles in the countryside, conscientiously learned from the fundamental experience of Tachai and went all out for socialism. They realize from practice that in order to achieve success in farmland capital construction it is imperative to rely on the guidance of the Party's basic line and the self-reliance and hard work of the masses and to have tremendous enthusiasm for socialism. Only when they make arduous efforts to fundamentally change the production conditions while constantly adhering to a correct orientation and road for agricultural development can they accelerate the pace of agricultural development, consolidate the socialist position in the countryside and effectively push the mass movement to learn from Tachai forward.

Without revolutionary ambition and enthusiasm for socialism, it is impossible to achieve successes in farmland capital construction as a socialist undertaking. As the prefecture is located along the southern rim of the Maowusu Desert, 90 percent of its area is hilly, gullied, windy and sandy. The frost-free period is short, soil erosion is serious, and natural disasters are frequent. Natural conditions for developing agricultural production are rather poor. The question of how to understand and deal with natural conditions correctly was not solved ideologically by some cadres of the prefecture for quite a long time. Interfered with and influenced by the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, a section of cadres, including some leading cadres, lacked confidance in changing the physical

outlook. They held that even if some success were made in transforming hills and rivers and coping with wind and sand, it would be difficult to change the natural conditions fundamentally. Swayed by such views, they were simply awed by the hills and gullies, obsessed with the belief that "Yülin is difficult to change." They shook their heads when it was proposed to make large-scale efforts, and looked to the state when it was proposed to transform the hills. This hindered the development of the mass movement to learn from Tachai, and farmland capital construction could hardly get started.

How can one correctly look at the natural conditions of Yülin Prefecture? What attitude should communists and revolutionary cadres take toward relatively poor natural conditions? The prefectural leadership had organized the cadres to discuss these questions and to criticize the view that any change was difficult. However, little results were achieved because the leadership itself failed to keep to a correct line. In 1970 the republication of Chairman Mao's reply telegram to the people of Yenan and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border area and the transmission of the spirit of the Northern Regional Agricultural Conference had a telling impact on leading members of the Yülin Prefectural Party Committee. Its standing committee spent some time seriously studying Chairman Mao's reply telegram, the experience of Tachai and Hsiyang, and examined its thinking and work. It began to see that the view that "Yülin is difficult to change" mainly reflected the lack of revolutionary spirit and a correct ideological and political line on the part of the leadership at the prefectural and county levels. Many comrades, summing up their experiences, said that the main reason why work had not been done well was that they had not firmly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Having metaphysical views, they succumbed to the pressure of nature. Although they wanted to make changes, they were afraid of the difficulties and lacked the revolutionary zeal of developing socialist agriculture. To change this state of affairs, the prefectural leadership acted on Chairman Mao's teaching, "find some time and go to the masses to see what they are thinking and doing, and find out the advanced experience among them and popularize it. This is an effective prescription to cure Right obstinacy." During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, cadres at prefectural and county levels were organized to conduct an investigations on the prefectural scale, with particular attention paid to selected areas of various types. The revolutionary practice of the masses in reshaping nature as well as positive and negative typical examples in various areas educated them profoundly. Both Yangch'iaopan brigade of Chingpien county in the sandy zone and Kaohsikou brigade of Michih county in the hilly zone have relatively poor natural conditions. But the cadres and masses there were not cowed by difficulties. Over the years, taking the Party's basic line as the key link, they have firmly grasped class struggle in the countryside, adhered to the socialist road and undertaken large-scale farmland capital construction. By diverting water to the sandy area, they reclaimed 10,000 mow of farmland, created a man-made oasis in the heart of the desert, and attained the per-mow grain output target set in the National Program for Agricultural Development. A mountain and river harnessing project made available terraced fields and dams, thus basically checking soil erosion. On the other hand, with similar natural conditions, Chiulit'an and Ankou brigades adjoining the above brigades faced an entirely different situation. Their cadres knew only how to stress the difficulties without organizing the masses to make an

effort to improve the production conditions. They wanted to find a way out through sideline occupations at the expense of agriculture. This led to rampant capitalist tendencies, and the physical outlook remained unchanged over the years!

By comparing these typical instances, the leadership and cadres at all levels clearly saw that whether the backward low-yield situation could be changed depended on whether the line followed was correct, whether there was enthusiasm for building socialism, and whether the strength of the masses was brought into play, and not on whether natural conditions were good. It was a reflection of metaphysical mentality and the world outlook of the lazy and cowardly to stress only bad conditions without seeing the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. In a further effort to raise everyone's consciousness and understanding, an upsurge was whipped up among all in the prefecture, from the leading groups to the cadres and the masses, to study Chairman Mao's "reply telegram," to discuss the traditions and line and to examine the fighting will. These study activities served as an effective education for all. Many areas of Yülin prefecture were once part of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region. Many comrades recalled that when Chairman Mao led the Liberation Army to fight in northern Shensi, they had lived and fought in many areas of Yülin. During the years of revolutionary war, the people of Yülin,under Chairman Mao's leadership, defeated the military encirclement and economic blockade of the Kuomintang reactionaries, and produced an abundance of food and clothing through self-reliance to support the revolutionary war, thereby making due contributions to the liberation of the country. With such a glorious past and such awakened people, do we still have any insurmountable difficulty today under the dictatorship of the proletariat when we can depend on the superiority of the collective economy of the people's commune and the creative power of the masses of people? Studying Chairman Mao's "reply telegram" gave everyone great spiritual strength, and from the revolutionary practice of the masses they saw the hope of Yülin. When their thinking and feelings changed, so did their views on Yülin. Those who once said that "Yülin is difficult to change" now say that good use can be made of gullies, and hills are full of treasures. Everyone says: "Gullies are not birthmarks of poverty and hills will certainly bring in riches. Terraced fields can be built on hills. More dams can be built across gullies. Slopes can be afforested. Stony land can give way to fertile fields." Thus, the advantages of Yülin's hills and rivers are seen, and this has raised people's consciousness in undertaking large-scale farmland capital construction. When changes were proposed in the past, some people of Wupao county on the bank of the Yellow River used to shake their heads, saying that "Wupao, with dry gullies and barren hills, is destined to be short of clothing and food." Later, the county Party committee took the lead in adjusting its ideological and political line, plucked up the revolutionary spirit, and looked at Wupao from the one-divides-in-two viewpoint. It led the people of the county to learn from Tachai's basic experience, firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, criticize revisionism and capitalism, and undertake farmland capital construction on a large scale. As a result, the county's outlook changed tremendously in a short time, and it became the first advanced county of the prefecture in learning from Tachai. Wupao's changes produced a great impact on the entire Yülin

prefecture. If Wupao, with the worst conditions, could change, was there any reason why other counties could not change? Thus, a mass movement to learn from Tachai, catch up with Wupao, and carry out farmland capital construction on a large scale by taking the Party's basic line as the key link quickly developed with vigor throughout the prefecture.

Farmland capital construction is not only a struggle to transform nature but also involves the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. To stress subsidiary occupations at the expense of agriculture and cash crops at the expense of grain has been a relatively acute problem in the two-road struggle in Yülin Prefecture, as has the operation of subsidiary occupations on a private basis and the outflow of manpower. This posed serious obstacles to developing the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to carrying out farmland capital construction on a large scale. These capitalist tendencies were fairly pervasive a few years ago, and many of those who exhibited these tendencies did so in the name of "boosting the income of the collective and commune members," a practice which was highly deceptive. Invariably, certain comrades of leading groups at various levels neither saw nor grasped such phenomena and even supported or encouraged them. They mistakenly thought that since the level of production was low, it was reasonable for some people to go out to make some money. As a result, such problems as going it alone in sideline production and outflow of manpower remained unsolved for a long time. Facts show that the two-road struggle in the countryside cannot be grasped well unless the line consciousness of leading members at all levels is raised in the first place. Over the last 5 years, in conjunction with the movements to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the prefectural and county Party committees have carried out an open-door rectification campaign once a year. On the basis of analyzing the trends and characteristics of class struggle, they look at the results of their effort to grasp class struggle and criticize revisionism and capitalism. They look at how the two-road struggle has been reflected in the leading groups and among themselves. In the light of their actual thinking, they delve into the Party's basic line. While making a success of line education in the leading groups of the prefectural and county Party committees, a large batch of cadres is organized once every year to go deep to the rural areas to conduct basic line education and to adjust grass-roots organizations group by group, so that the question of orientation and road for agricultural development can be solved properly.

"The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place." Education on the Party's basic line has exerted a great influence on large-scale farmland capital construction. On the one hand, the various counties sum up the experiences of some advanced models which have done better and changed their outlook more quickly, using these examples of firmly following the socialist road to "publicize the superiority of the new system and criticize the backwardness of the old." On the other hand, they extensively mobilize the masses to recall the past and contrast it with the present and discuss typical cases. Considering the differences between the old society and the new and between capitalism and socialism, they warn themselves against taking the old road. The truth

that "only socialism can save China" is brought home to them. Facts and reasoning enable them to see the relationship between agricultural development and the line. In the past, Chia county faced a more serious problem of manpower outflow and private sideline occupations. In the course of carrying out the education on the Party's basic line, it explained the danger of individual operation of subsidiary occupations to agricultural production, the corruptive effects of capitalist tendencies, and the liabilities thus caused to the state. Thus, what was right and what was wrong was put in clear perspective. With deep feelings, many cadres and people said that the view they held that letting some people go out to make some money was beneficial to the collective was actually detrimental to both the collective and the commune members. Studying the Party's basic line and criticizing capitalism in the light of reality thus showed its marked effect in generally raising everyone's consciousness and further rallying people to the cause of socialism.

When the masses arise, the leadership cannot sit still. When the masses want to learn from Tachai seriously, adhere to the Party's basic line, take the socialist road, and make arduous efforts to transform the physical features, the leadership must go to the frontline and join the masses in battle before it can provide correct quidance. Under these conditions, the prefectural and county Party committees have increasingly felt that it it impossible for them to lead the movement to learn from Tachai well by only issuing orders and holding conferences. The objective situation is such that the style of work of the leadership must be changed radically. The Wupao county Party committee has marched in the forefront by revolutionizing its own thinking. Taking Tachai and Hsiyang as examples, the county has firmly practiced the system of cadre participation in collective productive labor. Since 1973, cadres at the county level have participated in collective productive labor for 100 days annually, commune cadres 200 days, and brigade cadres 300 days. The cadres' regular participation in labor has promoted their ideological revolutionization and helped bring about noticeable changes in physical features. Wupao's experience is so convincing that it enables cadres at various levels to see that cadres must take the lead in working hard to reshape nature. When they do so, the masses will march forward. If cadres do not go to basic-level units to participate in collective productive labor, they will divorce themselves from the masses and will not be able to correctly lead the masses in criticizing capitalism and building socialism vigorously. In light of Wupao's experience, Party organizations at various levels repeatedly educate the cadres on combating and preventing revisionism and revolutionary traditions, criticizing the exploiting-class traditional idea that "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid." They remind the cadres to maintain and carry forward "the style of hard struggle practiced by the working personnel in Yenan and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region" in the revolutionary war years. Recalling how they worked and grew crops in those years, many veteran cadres of the prefectural and county Party committees have shown still greater revolutionary enthusiasm for taking the lead in going all out for socialism. Their active participation in collective productive labor sets an example for basic-level cadres. When cadres of county Party committees labor for 100 days, commune and brigade cadres will labor for 200 or 300 days. This was precisely what happened to half of the county cadres, one-fourth of the commune cadres, and three-fourths of brigade cadres in the prefecture in 1974. In the first half of this year, cadres in two-thirds of the county-level organs and a number of commune and brigade cadres participated in

collective productive labor more than 50, 100 and 150 days respectively. Taking pride in participating in labor and being ashamed of not doing so has become a practice among the cadres. Today, when cadres meet, they like to compare with each other as who works harder in labor. Seeing this, the masses say happily: "With such fine cadres, we need not worry that Yülin will not change!"

When cadres become one with the masses and wage hard struggle by relying on their efforts, difficulties can be surmounted one by one. The more they work, the better they like it and the better they do it. For instance, some localities used to depend on state loans for their investment in farmland capital construction. Now they rely mainly on their collective economic strength, make full use of local material resources, develop a diversified economy, and build commune-brigade industries. In order to concentrate manpower, materials and finance for the main projects, the various counties have also striven to cut down non-productive spending, substituting indigenous methods for modern methods, using local materials, and doing more things with less money. Seeing their own strength through hard struggle, they have displayed higher and higher enthusiasm for socialism. Even in winter, the cadres and masses of many communes and brigades still brave the winds and the snow and continue to work hard. In some areas with steep slopes, it takes up to 100 work-days to build one mow of terraced field, and since soil is in acute shortage, one has to travel nearly a thousand li to get soil to cover one mow of sandy land. The broad masses, however, have the determination and vigor, and cannot be deterred in their task. With the development of the mass movement, farmland capital construction has been carried out on an increasingly large scale--from the harnessing of a single mountain or gully to comprehensive harnessing of mountains and gullies, from scattered operations by individual brigades to the concentration of efforts of one commune, several communes or one whole county for a single project. Thus, the superiority of the people's commune as an institution large in size and with a high degree of public ownership has been brought into ever fuller play. When the spirit of the National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture was transmitted to Yülin in October this year, both cadres and the masses were greatly inspired, and they further increased their confidence in taking the Tachai road. Already two-thirds of the cadres in the prefecture have gone to the rural areas to join the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties. A new high tide in carrying out large-scale farmland capital construction is rising. By the end of October, more than 280,000 mow of terraced fields had been built in the prefecture, a 130 percent increase over the same period last year. More than 500,000 mow of farmland had been deep-plowed, one month earlier than last year. Both the effort and its actual effect surpassed those of any previous year. Acting on a series of important instructions issued by Chairman Mao on studying theory in order to combat and prevent revisionism, on stability and unity and on boosting the national economy, both cadres and the masses are resolved to carry forward the achievements, correct the shortcomings, and continue to fight hard so as to win new victories in socialist revolution and construction in the countryside.

Investigation Team of CCP Shensi Provincial Committee

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Strengthen Ideological Building of Leading Group

by

Party Committee of Hanhsing Metallurgical Mine
Administrative Bureau

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, December 1, 1975)

In the course of studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, we have reviewed our work since the formation of the Party committee in the light of reality and on the plane of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. With particular reference to the implementation of the Party's basic line and policies, we have summed up our experience and raised our awareness. This has made everyone realize deeply that in running a socialist enterprise well, it is essential first of all to properly orient the ideological and political line of the leadership before it is possible to give full play to the socialist initiative of the masses. Therefore, to strengthen the ideological building of the leading group is a regular and important task. If we do not understand this, we shall not be able to correctly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line nor make a success of revolution and production.

Our Bureau was established on the basis of the former Hantan Metallurgical Mine Company in the second half of 1973. Now, it has 8 mines in production, 5 ore-dressing plants and 4 subsidiary units serving the mines, charged with the task of supplying part of ores to iron and steel enterprises in a dozen provinces and cities. Formerly the production of the mines was comparatively low. Why? At first opinions were divided. Some said that the main cause was insufficient production equipment, others, that lack of sufficient cohesion among the masses was the cause, and still others, that with mining turning from open ground to underground, the cadres lacked management experience. And so on. How could production be pushed forward? We had no idea at all. Particularly because we failed to analyze problems and carry out investigation in the context of the line, little results were achieved though a lot of measures were taken and considerable effort was expended.

The documents of the 10th Party Congress show us the way of advance. In his report to the Congress Comrade Chou En-lai stressed the need to study Chairman Mao's writings including "On Strengthening the Party Committee System," "Methods of Work of Party Committees." Moreover, he pointed out: "Quite a few Party committees are engrossed in daily routines and minor matters, paying no attention to major issues. This is very dangerous. If they do not change, they will inevitably step onto the road of revisionism." This gave us a big jolt. After looking at our own conditions, we felt that this was exactly our problem. With the establishment of the Party committee, our desire to push production forward in order to change the passive situation conformed to the wish of the masses. But how? We did not reach a consensus. We saw only the material factor and external conditions as well as the problems among a

section of the masses without going deep into the world of reality to seek out the truth. Instead of making an analysis of the ideological and political line of the leadership, we were busy taking specific measures and failed to seriously grasp the major issues, the line and political-ideological work.

After the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius started, the masses of miners began to act positively and unfolded revolutionary mass criticism. In light of the actual conditions of the mines, we exposed and criticized the influence and manifestations of the revisionist line on enterprise management, and demanded an accelerated pace of both revolution and production on the mines. Under the impact of the mass movement, we seriously analyzed the condition of class struggle and the two-line struggle on the mines, and summed up the experience and lessons in relation to the past. It was recognized that the former leading group of the mines was not sufficiently united, did not grasp class struggle with effort, and in particular, failed to deeply criticize a lot of revisionist things with regard to the line of running enterprises. This adversely affected revolutionary unity among the masses and their socialist initiative. After the formation of the new Party committee, although this situation had changed somewhat, many problems still existed. Some comrades still failed to deal with the great proletarian cultural revolution correctly; some lacked a strong proletarian Party spirit; some were lax, afraid of hardship and difficulties. These problems showed that the ideological and political line of the Bureau leadership had not been properly oriented, and also explained why the passive situation could not be changed quickly. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, taking the three fundamental principles -- "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire" -- as a weapon, we put the problems on the table and waged active ideological struggle. We all criticized Lin Piao's reactionary program in emulating Confucius' "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and properly oriented our attitude toward the great proletarian cultural revolution. We criticized bourgeois factionalism and strengthened our proletarian Party spirit. We criticized the world outlook of the coward and the sluggard, and raised our consciousness of continuing the revolution, resolved to work with the masses to develop production on the mines in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive "Develop the mining industry" and in order to meet the needs of development of the iron and steel industry.

Having raised their consciousness of grasping the line and strengthened their revolutionary unity, members of the Party committee then led the cadres at various levels to go to the basic level and among the masses. They joined the miners on the mines and below the pits, studying, criticizing and laboring with them. While among the masses, we continued to discuss the line, the general situation, Party spirit, and unity, and carried out the Party's policies according to different conditions. Also, while discussing the excellent situation at home and abroad, we explained the significance of vigorously developing the mining industry, thereby making everyone link the production and construction on the mines with the implementation of the policy of "taking steel as the

key link" and the general task of quickening the development of the national economy. This aroused the initiative of the masses of miners to make a success of both revolution and production.

Judging by the case of our Bureau, strengthening the ideological building of the leading groups also requires that we help Party committees at the factory and mine levels solve properly problems in regard to the ideological and political line as well as strengthening the fighting capacity of the leading groups at various levels. Only when the leadership at the factory and mine levels correctly carry out the Party's basic line and policies at the first line of the three major revolutionary movements is it possible to fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right to the grassroots units. After the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the leading groups of the factories and mines under our Bureau were able to raise their line consciousness and show greater initiative in work. However, they did not enforce the Party's basic line and policies with the same degree of persistence. Some did so more consciously; others less consciously. The truth was that leadership in some units was not in the hands of Marxists and the worker masses. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we found that the Party committee of a huge mine, as its principal leading members were seriously corrupted by bourgeois ideology and degenerated, not only energetically promoted such revisionist trash as material incentives, but also shielded and condoned the bad people while repressing the masses. This gravely affected the production of that mine. In view of this, we armed the masses with the Party's basic line and freely aroused them to unfold revolutionary mass criticism, thus lifting the lid off class and line struggles on that mine. On the basis of increased consciousness of cadres and the masses, we reinforced and adjusted the mine's leading group. Class struggle works wonders when it is grasped. Through readjustment, that mine quickly changed its features.

This incident caused us to realize that the bourgeoisie always tries by a thousand and one means to corrupt our ranks and that real-life class struggle cannot but be reflected in the leading group. "Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs, there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." If a leading group is seriously corrupted by the bourgeoisie, it will not be able to observe Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. A leading group such as this must undergo ideological and organizational adjustment in time and must be reinforced with new forces selected in struggle in accordance with Chairman Mao's five criteria for bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause. When we do so, we will have the support of the masses and quickly bring about the needed improvement.

When assessing a leading group in the past, we often looked at the results of production in the unit to which it belonged, and failed to look at how it carried out the line in the course of production. Facts have told us that such a way of viewing problems is one-sided. Although the fulfillment of a production task is an important indication,

it does not fully reflect the results of implementation of the line. An ore-dressing plant did rather well in production and was commended many times. However, a detailed investigation there revealed that the leadership of the plant, while engrossing itself in production, had such a weak concept of class struggle that it failed to hit hard at the sabotage activities of the class enemies, dared not wage a struggle against capitalist tendencies, and showed no ardent support for the revolutionary actions of the masses. Obviously, if such a situation were allowed to last, production could not be carried on successfully for long. Therefore, we helped them study repeatedly Chairman Mao's teachings on classes and class struggle. On the plane of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, we paid much attention to raising their consciousness of grasping class struggle, and the fighting power of the leading group was thus increased.

There is another problem we encountered. Although some factories and mines have changed quite remarkably in recent years, accomplished much in work and faced no serious problem in respect to the line, the feeling that "everything is passable" has grown among the members of the leading groups. We realize that the main thing to be done toward such leading groups is to help them raise their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, encourage them to look at their thinking and work from the viewpoint of one dividing into two, and constantly remind them to analyze the problems existing in the enterprise in the context of the line. Some members of the Party committee of a mine, which was an advanced unit, used to think that since they had recognized and corrected their errors in following the revisionist line through the great cultural revolution, they could now "take it easy for a while, if not for a lifetime." After studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship recently, they discovered that on the question of enterprise management, the pernicious influence of the revisionist line had not been entirely eliminated and that the work of the leadership was still far from meeting the needs of the developing revolution and production. Although the Party committee itself was united, certain factors of disunity remained. To different degrees, these problems hampered the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as well as hindering the development of production. Thereupon, they found out the shortcomings and problems, and realized that these must be solved in the course of continuously adjusting the ideological and political line. The revolution is developing, and at no time must we relax our grip of the line.

If we are to continuously adjust the ideological and political line of the leading group, we must study revolutionary theories seriously and assiduously. In the past, we neglected theoretical studies often because of the pressure of day-to-day work. After the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, we deeply realized that without a clear ideological understanding, we could hardly carry out the correct line consciously and that without paying attention to theoretical studies both on our part and by the masses, we could not achieve unity of thinking and action with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. While tackling the problem of bourgeois factionalism, we found that some leading members, failing to have a common

language, differed in their views on the results of work. While some spoke of its achievements, others spoke of its problems. When a task was proposed, some favored it, others were against it. Here bourgeois factionalism was at work. As a matter was discussed only on its own merit, the problem of unity remained unsolved. In the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, through a serious study of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and a penetrating criticism of Lin Piao's crimes in promoting revisionism, creating disunity and playing intrigues, everyone saw that proletarian revolutionary unity first of all meant unity of the leading group, the key to the revolution and a necessity for uniting the masses to persist in continuing the revolution, while all chieftains of revisionism were bent on sabotaging revolutionary unity and splitting the revolutionary ranks. By drawing such a distinction in line and raising one's consciousness, one will have a correct direction in which to solve concrete problems. As a result, the Party's policies were quickly put into force, and revolutionary unity was strengthened in no time.

The movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship has helped all workers of our Bureau to raise their awareness of class and line struggles and the leading members at all levels their initiative in carrying out the Party's basic line. As a result, an excellent situation of stability and unity has appeared on all the mines. The workers see that a mine is a "granary" for the iron and steel industry, bearing on the speed of iron and steel production and on the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This year, despite a drop in the production capacity of old mines and the time lag for the new mines to bridge the gap, we faced the difficulties and fought tough battles. By late November, the total volume of extraction and separation and the output of iron ores and concentrates successively overfulfilled ahead of schedule the annual state plans, thus making new contributions to iron and steel production.

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